DOUBLE ISSUE DECEMBER 21, 2015

PERSON OF THE YEAR

TIME

ANGELA MERKEL
CHANCELLOR OF THE FREE WORLD

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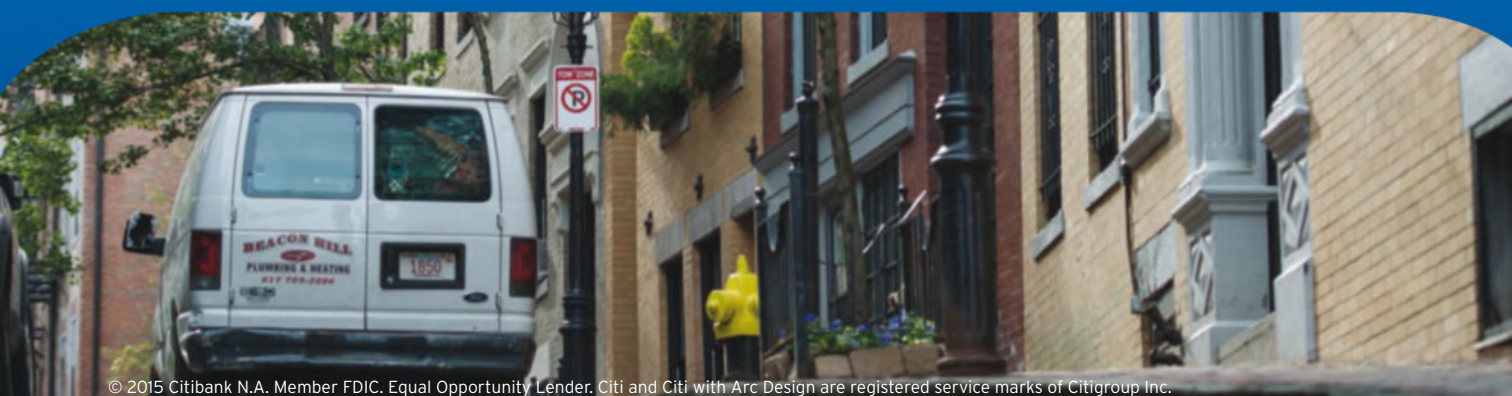

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The cast of *Hamilton*

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: PIOTR LESNIAK FOR TIME; PHOTO REFERENCE: AP; SCOTT OLSON—GETTY IMAGES; DEVIN ALLEN; BEHROUZ MEHRI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; BALAZS GARDI FOR TIME; SEBASTIAN KIM FOR TIME; ERIK MADIGAN HECK FOR TIME

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The eyes have it

AT *TIME* WE HAVE ALWAYS ENJOYED the challenge of creating compelling cover portraits. Over the years, we've commissioned artists from Marc Chagall to Roy Lichtenstein to Andy Warhol; for this Person of the Year, creative director D.W. Pine reached out to Colin Davidson to make an oil painting of German Chancellor Angela Merkel. "For me, it's about the eyes," D.W. says. "The realistic detail of his subjects' eyes draws the viewer in closer to fully appreciate the sculptural use of his bold brushstrokes." Davidson lives and works near Belfast; since 2010 his focus has been on grand-scale portraits, which have won many international awards. "I have become increasingly preoccupied, not with a sitter's celebrity but more with their status as a human being," says Davidson. "Although likeness is vital in my practice, it is my hope that a sense of the German Chancellor's dignity, compassion and humanity is woven into the paint."

We choose as Person of the Year the individual who has had the greatest influence, for better or worse, on the world and the news each year. The process invariably inspires a lively debate. While on occasion we have named groups, such as last year's Ebola Fighters, and even objects (the Computer in 1982), we have not named an individual woman since Philippine President Corazon Aquino in 1986. "The label of Person of the Year tends to favor people with institutional power," notes deputy managing editor Radhika Jones, who oversaw this issue. "In that sense, we're not breaking with tradition. It's a lot easier to make news from an address like the White House or the Vatican—or in this case, the Chancellery."

I was reminded of the rich history of Person of the Year when I had dinner last summer with Ambassador Ken Adelman *(see right)* and saw his collection of signed covers. It includes Martin Luther King Jr., Ronald Reagan, Nelson Mandela and Vladimir Putin. He does not, however, have Queen Elizabeth II (1952); he was informed that the Queen only signs official documents.

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

TIME'S BIGGEST FAN

Every December, our Person of the Year reveal animates the entire TIME staff. But it's also a pretty big deal to **Ken Adelman.** The former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. and arms-control director for President Reagan has every issue since 1927 framed on the walls of his Aspen, Colo., home. "It's a wonderful stroll through history," says the 69-year-old, who started collecting the annual issue in the early 1960s as a high schooler. More impressive, however, is Adelman's mission to obtain copies autographed by the cover subjects themselves. Among the gems in his collection: Dwight D. Eisenhower (1959), Harry S. Truman (1948) and a copy of 1998's Men of the Year cover with an inscription from Bill Clinton—alongside one from his nemesis, independent counsel Kenneth Starr, who wrote, "To … a good friend, now with the only cover both of us signed."

BITMOJI OF THE YEAR

Ever imagine yourself as TIME's Person of the Year? Download the Bitmoji app to see your avatar as #BitmojioftheYear on the cover of TIME and share it with friends.

AND THE POLL WINNER IS …

Thanks to a groundswell of social-media support, Democratic presidential candidate **Bernie Sanders** won TIME's online Person of the Year poll, pulling in 10% of the vote—well ahead of girls'-education activist Malala Yousafzai, in second place at 5.2%, and Pope Francis, TIME's 2013 Person of the Year, who finished third with 3.7%.

GIBBS: PETER HAPAK FOR TIME; BIGGEST FAN: COURTESY OF KEN ADELMAN; SANDERS: GETTY IMAGES

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Stories

Readers respond to TIME

1

'I salute both of these intrepid men.'

MIKE MOORE of Warsaw, Mo., on the Year Ahead issue (Dec. 29, 2014), which highlighted NASA's historic mission to send Scott Kelly to space for a year while his twin brother Mark is studied on Earth

2

'We have a model which has very low administrative costs, good health care outcomes and does not rely on competition. It's called Medicare.'

DR. ALICE FARYNA of Columbus, Ohio, on Steven Brill's Jan. 19 cover story about ways to improve the U.S. health care system

5

'SMART/ FUNNY/ PRETTY.'

DAVID CARR, late media columnist for the New York *Times*, on the sharing-economy cover (Feb. 9)

10

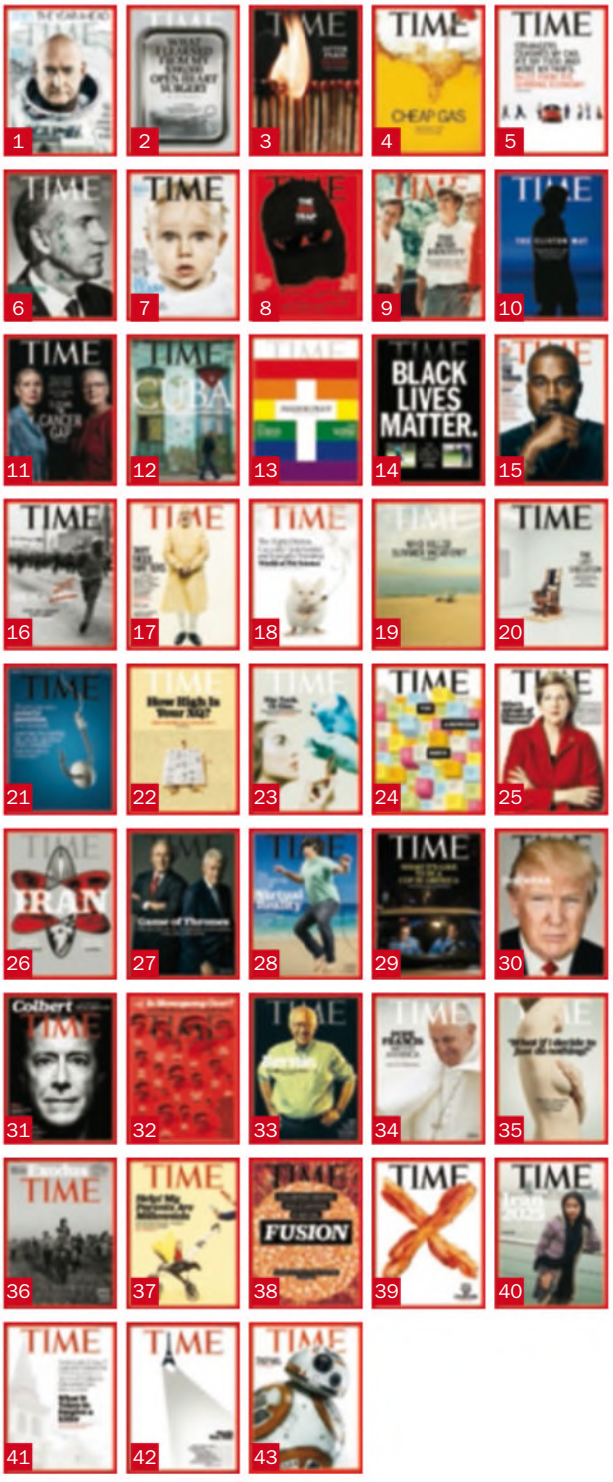
'The article confirms, in my opinion at least, that we need some new faces in office be it Democrat or Republican.'

CHARLES EVANS of Mayfield, Ky., on David Von Drehle's March 23 cover story about Hillary Clinton

21

'Am I physically dependent upon these drugs? Of course I am. Does that mean that I am a drug addict? No, it does not.'

ROBIN VOSBURG of Bakersfield, Calif., one of many readers who wrote to say they take prescribed opioid doses for chronic pain, after reading Massimo Calabresi's June 15 cover story on opioid addiction



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'THE DONALD TRUMPIEST PHOTO SHOOT EVER.'

VOX.COM'S EZRA KLEIN, on the Aug. 31 cover shoot by Martin Schoeller

31

'In the rest of this @TIME cover photo I'm doing naked tai-chi.'

STEPHEN COLBERT, *Late Show* host, making fun of his serious expression on the Sept. 7 cover

36

'I've been following this crisis for a while but your issue really puts a human face and soul to it.'

DIANE SPEROS of New York City, praising the Oct. 19 special report on the refugee crisis

39

'Take my dog … take my guns … but you'll have to take my crispy bacon from my cold, dead hands!'

J. THOMAS STEELE of Hialeah, Fla., on Jeffrey Kluger's Nov. 9 cover story on the dangers of meat

41

'YOU FINALLY GET IT. HONOR THE VICTIMS AND THEIR FAMILIES, NOT THE SHOOTER.'

ELIZABETH SHAUVER of New Castle, Ind., on "What It Takes to Forgive a Killer" (Nov. 23), TIME's special report on the aftermath of the Charleston, S.C., shooting

'Honored to be breaking the net with these 30.'

GWYNETH PALTROW, via Twitter, on being named to TIME's list of the most influential people on the Internet (March 16)

'OWNING 100 PAIRS OF SHOES IS AN OBSCENITY.'

CAROLE CERNUTO of Canoga Park, Calif., on the environmental effects of household clutter, in response to "The Joy of Less" (March 23) by Josh Sanburn

'For me, this piece gently offers that I am not weak for seeking support, that sometimes it's O.K. for me to be the patient.'

REID HAFLICH, a Boston M.D. candidate who said he has struggled with depression, after reading Mandy Oaklander's Sept. 7 feature on physicians' mental health

'HER LIFE, HER CHOICE, WHAT'S THE PROBLEM?'

LETLIV2010 VIA TIME.COM, on Kareem Abdul-Jabbar's essay concerning former NAACP leader Rachel Dolezal, a white woman who for years presented herself as black (June 29)

'What's next? An algorithm to help married couples figure out how incompatible they have become?'

SARABJIT SINGH of Old Tappan, N.J., on Aziz Ansari's June 15 feature, which explored the perks and perils of dating in the digital age

'It is not hearing about the "damn emails" that has people sick and tired. It is hearing Ms. Clinton's ever changing stories about them.'

ROGER DEVORE of Dunlap, Ill., on Joe Klein's Oct. 26 column, which declared Hillary Clinton the winner of the first Democratic debate of the 2016 cycle

'I HATE THE WORD [AMBITIOUS]. I THINK IT'S IMPOLITE.'

SAVANNAH GUTHRIE, *Today* show host, discussing women and ambition, the subject of Kristin van Ogtrop's Sept. 28 feature

'Thank you for the opportunity to be 9 again.'

TONY SEGER of Southfield, Mich., on Richard Corliss's history of Cinderella onscreen (March 23)

'I'M SO GLAD THAT YOU HAVE EMPLOYED SOMEONE LIKE [TYPOGRAPHER] KENT LEW—NOW I CAN READ TIME MAGAZINE WITHOUT KEEPING A MAGNIFYING GLASS HANDY.'

MARLENE FABRIE of Orland Park, Ill., on TIME's redesign (which debuted in the June 22 issue)

'It really hit close to home for me and many other young adults.'

LOYAL COSHWAY of Columbus, Ohio, on Haley Sweetland Edwards' Nov. 30 exploration of the U.S.'s student-debt crisis

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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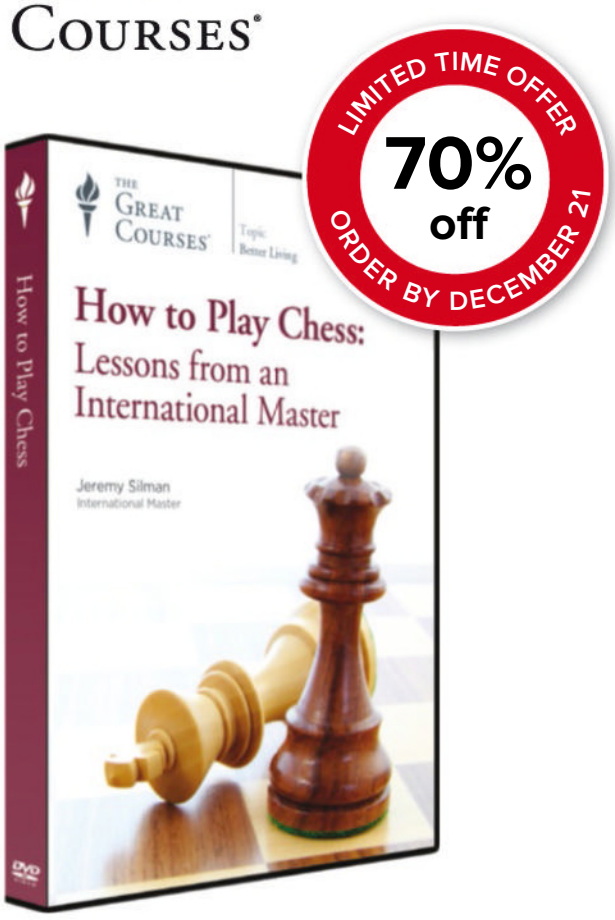

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Quotes

JANUARY

'We have just been hit at the heart of our liberty.'

ANNE HIDALGO, Paris mayor, after the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting

FEBRUARY

'No one wants conflict on the edge of Europe.'

VLADIMIR PUTIN, Russian President, on crumbling relations with Ukraine

MARCH

'If a person takes 149 other people to their deaths with him, there is a word other than suicide.'

CARSTEN SPOHR, Lufthansa CEO, on the pilot who crashed Germanwings Flight 9525

'No matter on which side of the aisle you sit, you stand with Israel.'

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, Israeli Prime Minister, addressing the U.S. Congress

APRIL

'We're standing on dry ground and we should be standing on five feet of snow.'

JERRY BROWN, California governor, on the state's drought

'People should not underestimate me.'

BERNIE SANDERS, Vermont Senator, announcing his presidential campaign

'For all intents and purposes, I'm a woman.'

CAITLYN JENNER, formerly Bruce Jenner

'There is nothing left to go back to. Everything is destroyed.'

KARCHON TAMANG, Nepal resident, after a 7.8-magnitude earthquake

MAY

'I will seek justice on your behalf.'

MARILYN MOSBY, Baltimore prosecutor, charging six police officers in the death of Freddie Gray

'I would not have gone into Iraq.'

JEB BUSH, distancing himself from his brother George

'Thank you and good night.'

DAVID LETTERMAN, on his final *Late Show*

JUNE

'The earth … is beginning to look more and more like an immense pile of filth.'

POPE FRANCIS, on climate change

'The creditors want to humiliate the Greek people.'

ALEXIS TSIPRAS, Greek Prime Minister, on austerity measures

'They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists.'

DONALD TRUMP, on undocumented Mexican immigrants in the U.S.

'That little horse, he deserved it.'

BOB BAFFERT, trainer, after American Pharoah won the Triple Crown

'NO LONGER MAY THIS LIBERTY BE DENIED.'

ANTHONY KENNEDY, Supreme Court Justice, legalizing same-sex marriage in June

JULY

'I could not look my kids in the face and justify that flag anymore.'

NIKKI HALEY, South Carolina governor, on lowering the Confederate flag

AUGUST

'*Adios*, motherf-ckers!'

JON STEWART, bidding farewell to Fox News in his last week on *The Daily Show*

SEPTEMBER

'The only thing that separates women of color from anyone else is opportunity.'

VIOLA DAVIS, accepting her historic Best Actress Emmy

'That was a mistake. I'm sorry about that.'

HILLARY CLINTON, on using a private email server

'Confrontation will lead to losses on both sides.'

XI JINPING, Chinese President, on cyberwar with the U.S.

'I would not advocate that we put a Muslim in charge of this nation.'

BEN CARSON, in a controversial *Meet the Press* interview

OCTOBER

'Our thoughts and prayers are not enough.'

PRESIDENT OBAMA, after a mass shooting at an Oregon college

NOVEMBER

'France is at war.'

FRANÇOIS HOLLANDE, French President, after ISIS attacked Paris

DECEMBER

'We want you to grow up in a world better than ours today.'

MARK ZUCKERBERG AND PRISCILLA CHAN, Facebook CEO and his wife, in an open letter to their newborn daughter

'EVERY PERSON WHO COMES IS A HUMAN BEING.'

ANGELA MERKEL, German Chancellor, defending the rights of refugees in August

Moments

Memorable images of major (and minor) events

JULY 5
U.S. midfielder Carli Lloyd celebrates with teammates after scoring against Japan during the FIFA Women's World Cup final; the U.S. won 5-2

JAN. 6
John Boehner, former Republican House Speaker, kisses his Democratic predecessor, Nancy Pelosi, after being re-elected Speaker; he resigned the position in October

NOVEMBER
Princess Charlotte, the newest member of the British royal family, plays at the Sandringham Estate in England; Catherine, Duchess of Cambridge, snapped the photo of her second child

JUNE 26
Ann Sorrell, 78, and Marge Eide, 77, exchange vows in Michigan after the U.S. Supreme Court legalized same-sex marriage nationwide; the couple had been together for 43 years

MARCH 12
U.S. astronaut Barry Wilmore and Russian cosmonauts Alexander Samokutyaev and Elena Serova return to Earth after nearly six months

NOV. 29
Pope Francis visits a refugee camp after arriving as a "pilgrim of peace" in Bangui, Central African Republic

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: ERICH SCHLEGEL—USA TODAY SPORTS; PAUL SANCYA—AP; BILL INGALLS—NASA; GIUSEPPE CACACE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; DUCHESS OF CAMBRIDGE—HANDOUT VIA REUTERS; JIM LOS SCALZO—EPA

2015 // THE YEAR IN

Highs & Lows

Similar themes, opposite fates

Taylor Swift and Calvin Harris hooked up

Couples

Miss Piggy and Kermit the Frog broke up

Adele's **"Hello"** debuted at No. 1 on the *Billboard* Hot 100

Greetings

Cameron Crowe's ***Aloha*** was called a "hot mess" by critics

Peanuts (in small servings) were linked to longevity

Snacks

Processed meats, like bacon, were linked to cancer

Fetty Wap's **"Trap Queen"** dominated radio over the summer

Royalty

Fantasy-sports site **DraftKings** dealt with insider-trading claims

Serena rose to the top of the tennis world pre–U.S. Open

Williams

Brian was demoted to MSNBC post–fabrication scandal

Carli Lloyd was a standout on the world-champion U.S. team

Soccer

Sepp Blatter was suspended amid a FIFA bribery scandal

Lucious Lyon delighted viewers on the Fox hit *Empire*

Lions

Lionsgate admitted its *Gods of Egypt* cast was too white

Oliver drove *Last Week Tonight* to impressive ratings

John

Stamos drove under the influence, according to police

An **emoji** was named Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year

Communication

Email caused campaign drama for Hillary Clinton

Big Bird starred in viral FunnyOrDie clips

Large Things

Big Soda faced plummeting sales in the U.S.

Drake's **"Hotline Bling"** video spawned hundreds of memes

Jewels

Jem and the Holograms sank at the box office

Broadway applauded **Alexander Hamilton**

U.S. History

Princeton protested **Woodrow Wilson**

Pratt headlined the smash hit *Jurassic World*

Chris

Christie polled low in the 2016 race

McDonald's won raves for serving all-day breakfast

Fast Food

Chipotle caught flak for an *E. coli* outbreak

GETTY IMAGES (7); EVERETT (2)

BY LILY ROTHMAN

Just because you don't see it, doesn't mean it isn't there.

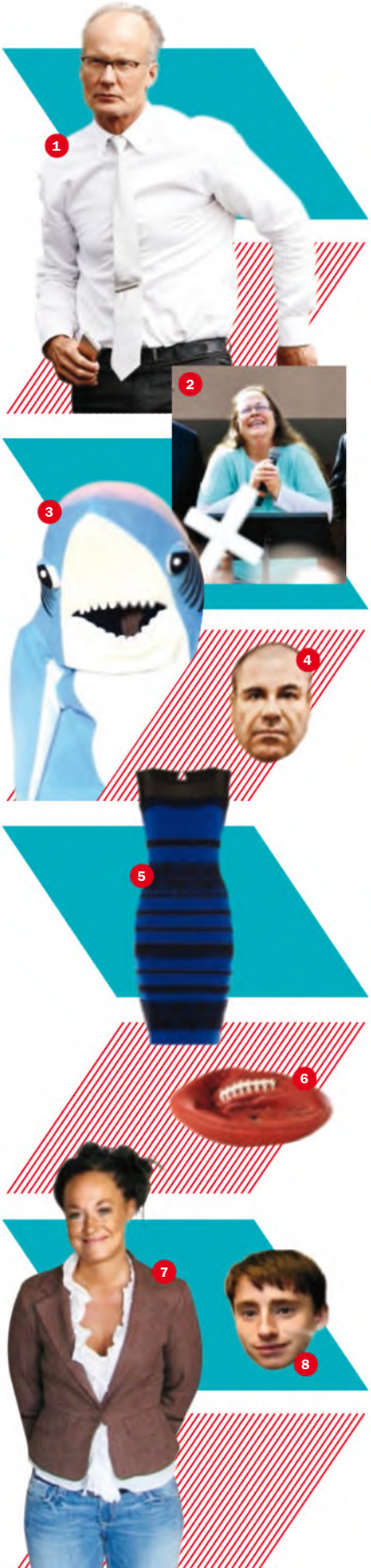
Introducing the newly redesigned Volkswagen Passat with Blind Spot Monitor, one of seven available Driver Assistance features.* Passat. Where family happens.

vw.com

Simulated image. *Driver Assistance features are not substitutes for attentive driving. See Owner's Manual for further details and important limitations. ©2015 Volkswagen of America, Inc.

15 Minutes

The people and phenomena that rose, briefly, to the top **By Joel Stein**



1 ▸ WALTER PALMER

Much has changed since we celebrated former President Theodore Roosevelt for returning from Africa with his son, having killed 17 lions. But information doesn't reach Minnesota dentists quickly, so when Dr. Palmer **paid $50,000 to kill Cecil the Lion,** the beloved attraction at Zimbabwe's Hwange National Park, he returned home to death threats as well as the ire of Jimmy Kimmel, Mia Farrow, Sharon Osbourne, Newt Gingrich and Debra Messing. Dozens of Minnesotans, meanwhile, were happy to have an excuse to cancel their dental appointments.

2 ▸ KIM DAVIS

The clerk of Rowan County, Kentucky, who has been married four times, converted to Apostolic Pentecostalism, a religion against homosexuality, four years ago. After the Supreme Court legalized gay marriage, Davis **refused to issue any same-sex marriage licenses,** in a move legal scholars call "taking the ball home with her." She was arrested and then celebrated by GOP presidential candidates Ted Cruz, Mike Huckabee, Bobby Jindal and Rand Paul. She also got a meeting with the Pope, which surprised many people, including, per his press statement afterward, the Pope.

3 ▸ LEFT SHARK

Even with recent legislative changes, the Super Bowl is still an alcohol-based viewing activity, not a marijuana-based one. Yet at halftime, Katy Perry sang "Teenage Dream" flanked by buck-toothed beach balls, googly-eyed palm trees and two sharks, one of whom was on the beat, crisply executing his shark dance moves. The other was Left Shark. And Bryan Gaw, the dancer portraying him, **became a hero to all of us who can barely watch a Super Bowl,** much less play or dance in one.

4 ▸ EL CHAPO

As any casual fan of *narcocorridos* knows, Mexican drug lord Joaquín Guzmán finds prison to be boring. So for **his second escape from a maximum-security prison,** the head of the Sinaloa cartel fled through a 30-ft.-deep tunnel outfitted with a motorcycle and air ducts. Mexico nervously awaits the authorities to bring him to justice and then help him escape from his next prison.

5 ▸ THE DRESS

You know how in your freshman year of college, under the influence of substances that might be legal now, you debated with others whether you all saw the same blue when you talked about blue? Now imagine how bored everyone would have to be to have that discussion sober. That's what happened when a woman posted a photo of a dress on Tumblr and **people argued over whether it was blue and black or white and gold.** It drove a wedge between both Kanye West and Kim Kardashian West and Mindy Kaling and B.J. Novak, though the latter two were probably already fighting about Wittgenstein's rabbit-duck illusion and the former two about which one will be on Mount Rushmore. The debate is probably still occupying much of Left Shark's brain.

6 ▸ JIM MCNALLY

The New England Patriots locker-room attendant, who called himself "the deflator" in a text to a co-worker, used his phone more than a teenage girl in detention. McNally **implicated Tom Brady in the cheating scandal** with texts complaining about the quarterback's, like, totally lame treatment of him despite deflating Brady's balls like he asked. Also, McNally is very fond of puns about testicles.

7 ▸ RACHEL DOLEZAL

It was unclear for a while if Dolezal—like a human version of the Dress—was black or white. The ex-president of the Spokane, Wash., NAACP dyed her hair, bronzed her skin and **told people she was African American, even though she was born white.** Neither race seemed eager to accept her. She didn't even get a meeting with the Pope.

8 ▸ DEEZ NUTS

Brady Olson, a 15-year-old Iowan, registered to run for President as a third-party candidate and **polled 7% to 9% in Iowa, Minnesota and North Carolina.** His success was largely due to the fact that he called himself Deez Nuts, which is a classic comedy rejoinder meaning, roughly, "deez nuts."

PALMER, DAVIS, DOLEZAL: AP; SHARK, EL CHAPO: GETTY IMAGES; DRESS: SWIKED/TUMBLR; FOOTBALL: ALAMY; NUTS: YOUTUBE

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9 ▸ RILEY CURRY

Take Our Daughters and Sons to Work Day generally doesn't involve NBA-playoff press conferences. That didn't stop Golden State Warrior Stephen Curry from putting his adorable 2-year-old daughter's **adorableness in front of crusty sports reporters** so they could adore her. Instead, they got even crustier, complaining that they couldn't ask him tough questions in front of his offspring. So now America will never know if Curry felt the Warriors' victory was a team effort or if the other team deserved a lot of credit.

10 ▸ JOSH DUGGAR

When you have 19 kids and are still counting, not all of them are going to turn out perfectly. So the eldest child in the TLC reality-show clan had to quit his job at the Family Research Council when **it became public that he had molested his sisters as a teenager**—thus ending the show and, undoubtedly, the counting. Then, during the Ashley Madison hack, Duggar got caught for being naive enough to believe there was a dating site where married women paid to get dates.

11 ▸ KEVIN MCCARTHY

The man who, at 19, opened his own deli in Bakersfield, Calif., off winnings from a lottery ticket was about to luck into the job of Speaker of the House. Then he found out that being Speaker is worse than any other job in the world, including being the owner of a deli in Bakersfield, Calif. After he stupidly **told a TV interviewer that the Benghazi committee was effective as a political tactic to hurt Hillary Clinton,** the Tea Party turned on McCarthy, causing him to withdraw his candidacy and understand why the caged John Boehner cries.

12 ▸ PLUTO

When you are demoted from the status of planet to Kuiper Belt object—and are further humiliated by being labeled just another dwarf planet, along with totally basic rocks such as Haumea and Makemake—you can start to get a little desperate. So when the spacecraft New Horizons started taking Pluto's first closeup pictures, it's not surprising that Pluto tarted it up by **showing off a heart-shaped region** that, it turns out, is filled with poisonous ice. So pathetic.

13 ▸ SILENTÓ

Richard Lamar Hawk, 17, shot a 15-second Instagram clip at school and then stretched it out to **create a viral video teaching people how to do a bunch of old viral dances:** the whip, nae nae, the stanky leg, the break your legs, the Superman, the bop. The millennial Arthur Murray's lyrics mostly consist of him telling people to "watch me." Instead, we mostly had to watch the moves enacted by the likes of Hillary Clinton and Matt Damon—as well as born-again virgin couple Ciara and Russell Wilson, since that's as close as they're letting themselves get to sex.

14 ▸ AHMED MOHAMED

After arriving at his high school in Irving, Texas, with a clock he'd taken apart and rebuilt as a pencil case—because you never know, pencil-case clocks could become a cool teen trend—the 14-year-old was **arrested and handcuffed for possessing a hoax bomb.** As a victim of Islamophobia, he was perhaps overcelebrated for his scientific achievement of changing the back of a clock: he got to meet Barack Obama, Sergey Brin, an astronaut and the mayor of New York City. But that fame eventually led to a scholarship offer from a school in Qatar; once Mohamed moved there, he demanded $15 million from his old school district and city, or approximately 30 million pencil-case clocks.

15 ▸ PIZZA RAT

There are few times in life when we get to cheer for a rat: *Ratatouille,* union protests, when Rizzo gets a line on *The Muppets,* 1984 if you liked hair-metal bands, once every 12 years if your Chinese restaurant uses that place-mat chart. But when this particular little creature **tried to carry an entire slice of pizza down a flight of stairs at a New York City subway stop,** we were once again reminded how noble are the rat's struggles, and how gross are the New York City subways. Luckily, Pizza Rat found his fame late in the year, otherwise Walter Palmer would have paid $20,000 to kill him. ◻

CURRY: DUGGAR; MCCARTHY; PLUTO; SILENTÓ; MOHAMED: GETTY IMAGES; RAT: YOUTUBE

ADVERTISEMENT

INNOVATIVE PARTNERSHIP

Drives Next Generation of Cancer Discoveries

When you think of American Cancer Society volunteers you may imagine passionate people raising funds for cancer research or spreading cancer awareness by walking the track at a Relay For Life event.

But volunteers give so much more to the American Cancer Society. Over the past 60 years, they've been offering up information about their lifestyle, medical history, and sometimes even their DNA – all in the name of research.

Alpa Patel, PhD, is an epidemiologist and strategic director of the American Cancer Society's Cancer Prevention Study-3 (CPS-3), the largest contemporary study of its kind in the country.

According to Patel, "it's the innovative partnership between our volunteers and researchers that makes our cancer prevention studies the gem of our research program."

"These volunteers aren't simply saying 'here's money toward finding these answers; they're saying here's my time, here's my information, here's my blood sample, and let me help you actively be part of making that next generation of discoveries!"

"Since the Epidemiology Research Program began, the Society has engaged 2.7 million people across the U.S. in these studies, and that represents countless discoveries that have been made toward improved prevention and improved survival."

Some of those discoveries include identifying and confirming the link between smoking and lung cancer (CPS-I), as well as revealing the relationship between obesity and many different types of cancer (CPS-II). And now, CPS-3 seeks to uncover more of the environmental, genetic, and lifestyle factors that might cause cancer today and in the next generation, with the help of 300,000 passionate volunteers. Patel hopes the work she and other epidemiologists in the Program are doing will help people not just live longer, but live better as well.

"It's the innovative partnership between our volunteers and researchers that makes our cancer prevention studies the gem of our research program."

"We want to learn not only what the causes of cancer are, but also what we can do after a cancer diagnosis for optimal health," she says. "With over 14 million survivors in the U.S., we need to understand the things you can do that will actually improve the quality of your life, not just before a cancer diagnosis, but after a cancer diagnosis."

The latest work of Society research focuses on the link between obesity, sedentary behavior, and cancer. In fact, one of their studies was one of the first in the U.S. to link sitting time and premature death.

"We know the combination of being obese, poor nutrition, and physical inactivity accounts for about 30% of all cancers, so it's a problem we really need to work on solving."

And when Patel says "we" she's not just talking about the researchers and volunteers involved in cancer prevention studies, but the collective "we" of humanity.

It's human traits like determination, inquisitiveness, generosity, and volunteerism that support the American Cancer Society research that ultimately saves lives. Indeed, because of this research, we now know the best defenses against cancer are not smoking, maintaining a healthy weight, eating a healthful diet, and being physically active. CPS-3 also promises to unravel unanswered questions about preventing cancer.

Cancer never sleeps and neither do we. Call us at 800-227-2345. cancer.org

Firsts & Lasts

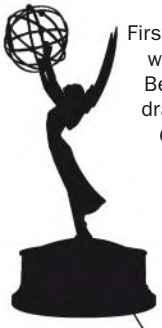
The most talked-about milestones

May 22
Ireland
First country to legalize gay marriage by popular vote

Jan. 25
Mike Krzyzewski
First NCAA Division I men's basketball coach to reach 1,000 wins

July 27
Jen Welter
First woman hired on an NFL coaching staff

June 19
Hawaii
First state to ban smoking by people under 21



Sept. 20
Viola Davis
First black woman to win an Emmy for Best Actress in a drama (for *How to Get Away With Murder*)

Nov. 7
China
First diplomatic meeting with Taiwan in 70 years

Aug. 21
Army Rangers
First female soldiers graduate from the grueling U.S. military school

March 11
Google
First retail store opens in London

Jan. 9
Tiffany & Co.
Company's first ad campaign featuring a same-sex couple

Jan. 22
SkyMall
Last print issues of airline catalog start to be pulled from planes as company declares bankruptcy

May 29
Cuba
Last day on U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism

Aug. 27
Discworld
Last novel in Terry Pratchett series published posthumously

Dec. 16
Abby Wambach
Last game to be played by retiring U.S. women's soccer star

May 17
Mad Men
Last episode airs on AMC

Aug. 6
The Daily Show
Last episode with Jon Stewart as host airs on Comedy Central

Feb. 22
Leonard Nimoy
Last tweet before the *Star Trek* actor's death: "LLAP" (Live long and prosper)

July 5
Grateful Dead
Last show played before the band's retirement

Oct. 16
US Airways
Last flight under the brand's name after its merger with American Airlines

BY SARAH BEGLEY

YAHOO! NEWS with
Katie Couric
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Hashtags

News stories amplified by social media

Started to voice support for the victims of the *Charlie Hebdo* shooting (alongside #JeSuisAhmed)

#JeSuisCharlie

JANUARY

#AskHerMore

JANUARY

Popularized by celebs such as Reese Witherspoon, Shonda Rhimes and Amy Poehler to demand that people stop focusing so much on women's appearance

Inspired violent protests after residents of Beirut used it to blast the government for failing to collect trash efficiently

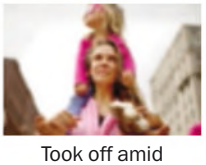
#YouStink

AUGUST

#LoveWins

JUNE

Shared by millions after the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that legalized same-sex marriage



Took off amid efforts to defund Planned Parenthood, thanks in part to support from Kerry Washington, Lena Dunham and Elizabeth Banks

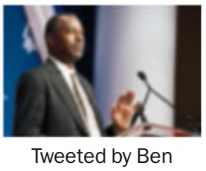
#StandWithPP

AUGUST

Spread by activists petitioning David Cameron to let more refugees into Britain, and supported by President Obama, Madeleine Albright and others

#RefugeesWelcome

SEPTEMBER



Tweeted by Ben Carson to unite the conservative base following reports that the Oregon college shooter was targeting Christians

#IAmAChristian

OCTOBER

Started by students at the University of Missouri to protest what they say is growing racism on U.S. campuses

#ConcernedStudent1950

NOVEMBER

Mocked social-media users who were upset that Starbucks' red holiday cups did not have Christmas imagery

Used by Parisians to find and offer housing for people who needed shelter after the ISIS attacks

#ItsJustACup

NOVEMBER

#PorteOuverte

NOVEMBER

CHARLIE HEBDO, SUPREME COURT, STARBUCKS: AP; PLANNED PARENTHOOD, CARSON, PARIS: GETTY IMAGES; REFUGEES: REUTERS

BY OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

Things

Inanimate objects that drove the news

DRUG
Flibanserin (a.k.a. the female-libido pill)

ALBUM
Adele's *25*

INVENTION
"Hoverboard" scooters

LIQUID
Water on Mars

SPACECRAFT
NASA's New Horizons

POLLUTANT
Volkswagen diesel engines

CAR
The Popemobile

ACCESSORY
Donald Trump's cap

GADGET
Samsung Gear VR

RECIPE
Pea guacamole (per the New York *Times*)

RELIC
The Confederate flag

FOSSIL
Homo naledi, an early human

CURRENCY
China's renminbi

EMOJI
The taco (finally!)

DESIGN
Starbucks' plain red holiday cups

WEAVE
Miley Cyrus' dreadlocks

BOOK
Harper Lee's *Go Set a Watchman*

LOGO
~~Google~~ Alphabet

DESSERT
The Churro Dog

TOY
BB-8

BY SAMANTHA GROSSMAN

GETTY IMAGES (14); HOVERBOARD: GREGORY REID; TACO: APPLE; FLIBANSERIN: AP; PEA GUACAMOLE: DOMINIC PERRI

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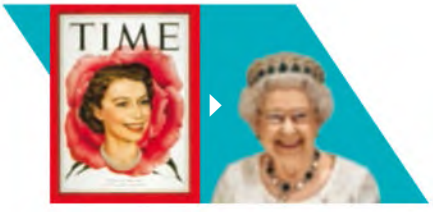
Then & Now

Checking up on TIME's past Persons of the Year

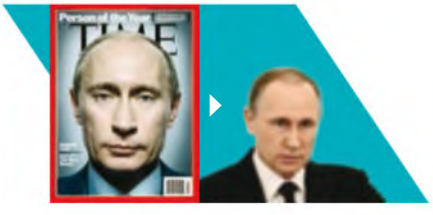
QUEEN ELIZABETH II



1952
Settling into the throne

NOW
Setting a new record Sept. 9 as the longest-reigning British monarch; she's nearing 64 years

VLADIMIR PUTIN



2007
Rebuilding Russia as a world power

NOW
Making military moves in Ukraine, Syria and more—and butting heads with the U.S.

THE PROTESTER

2011
Demanding justice and dignity in over a dozen countries during the Arab Spring revolutions

NOW
Other than in Tunisia, finding their efforts have largely soured—especially in Egypt and Syria

BILL CLINTON

1992, 1998
Elected as the first baby-boomer U.S. President; then trying to hold on in the face of impeachment

NOW
Potentially ready to bring new meaning to "First Spouse" if his wife becomes President

BARACK OBAMA

2008, 2012
Getting elected (and re-elected) as America's first black President, promising hope and change

NOW
Preparing to leave office with a legacy of health care reform—but also renewed national-security concerns

POPE FRANCIS

2013
Inspiring a new generation of believers and nonbelievers to see the church in a friendlier light

NOW
Confronting conservative elements in the church with (relatively) progressive stances on key issues

JEFF BEZOS

1999
Leading Amazon.com, the company he founded, to usher in an era of e-commerce

NOW
Taking Amazon into everything from devices to drones—and pursuing his own commercial space venture

MARK ZUCKERBERG

2010
Driving the social-networking phenomenon with 550 million Facebook users

NOW
Becoming a dad and expanding philanthropic efforts, all while reaching 1.55 billion active monthly users

THE EBOLA FIGHTERS

2014
Working to stop a deadly and frightening epidemic

NOW
Still working—but having made tremendous progress in halting the disease in West Africa

QUEEN ELIZABETH, CLINTON, OBAMA: GETTY IMAGES; BEZOS, PUTIN: REUTERS; ZUCKERBERG, POPE FRANCIS, EBOLA: AP; PROTESTER: EPA

BY LILY ROTHMAN

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Make-Believe

The most influential characters in fiction **By Daniel D'Addario**

1 ▸ COOKIE LYON

With her high-drama scheming and higher-drama wardrobe, the Lyon family matriarch (played by Taraji P. Henson) was the biggest draw on TV's most popular new show, *Empire,* luring more than 13 million viewers a week. In addition to spawning countless memes and catchphrases, she also helped inspire a clothing line at Saks Fifth Avenue.

2 ▸ THE MINIONS

The cutesy yellow sidekicks—first introduced in 2010's *Despicable Me*—took center stage this year, netting $1.1 billion at the global box office. Universal also licensed the brand to some 850 companies, including McDonald's and Crayola.

3 ▸ HILLARY CLINTON

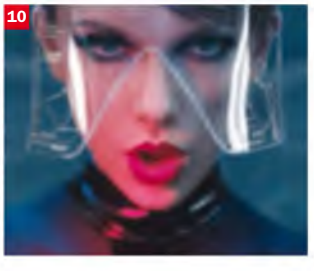
Kate McKinnon's power-hungry *SNL* character became so closely tied to the candidate that some pundits suggested it might destroy her image. But Clinton didn't seem to mind: "A vote for Hillary is a vote for four more years of Kate McKinnon's impression," she tweeted in October.

4 ▸ ATTICUS FINCH

As revealed in Harper Lee's *Go Set a Watchman,* the beloved patriarch of *To Kill a Mockingbird* (played by Gregory Peck in the 1962 movie version) harbored racist views. The news drove stellar book sales and fueled debates about bigotry and literary ethics.

5 ▸ IMPERATOR FURIOSA

In a landmark year for heroines, this vigilante (played by Charlize Theron) out-fierced them all, stealing *Mad Max: Fury Road* out from under Mad Max himself and proving that smash-hit action films can be unapologetically feminist.



6 ▸ JON SNOW

After *Game of Thrones*' reigning heartthrob (played by Kit Harington) was apparently stabbed to death in the Season 5 finale, fans—and hundreds of media outlets—rallied around him, parsing photos, news reports and script leaks for clues about his fate.

7 ▸ SADNESS

The breakout star of Pixar's *Inside Out* (voiced by Phyllis Smith) brought millions of viewers to tears; she's now being used as a teaching tool to help kids get in touch with their emotions.

8 ▸ ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Lin-Manuel Miranda's vision of the first U.S. Treasury Secretary as a scrappily ambitious fellow with a flair for rhyming anchored one of Broadway's biggest hits in years, luring fans like Katy Perry and President Obama.

9 ▸ MARK WATNEY

The Martian's charmingly resourceful botanist (played by Matt Damon) became a role model for future scientists and refocused media attention on the Red Planet—helped, naturally, by the news that NASA found flowing water on the real-life Mars, which broke the same week Watney's fictional exploits hit theaters.

10 ▸ CATASTROPHE

The "Bad Blood" video protagonist (played by Taylor Swift, of course) and her all-female squad of assassins set the bar for music-video spectacle in the Internet age, logging 20.1 million views in a single day.

EMPIRE: FOX; MINIONS, MAD MAX, THE MARTIAN, INSIDE OUT: EVERETT; MCKINNON, PECK: GETTY IMAGES; GAME OF THRONES: KOBAL; HAMILTON: REDUX; SWIFT: YOUTUBE

The Teddy Awards, for doers, diplomats and leaders who ignored our worst instincts

By Joe Klein

"It is not the critic who counts: not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs, who comes up short again and again … who spends himself in a worthy cause; who, at the best, knows, in the end, the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly."
—TEDDY ROOSEVELT

The arena was noisy in 2015, scarily so. Powerful gusts of toxic stupidity emanated from the campaign trail. The insane rage of gun violence punctuated our churches, schools and family-planning clinics. The world was sick with crucifixions, bombings and beheadings. Political courage, which these annual Teddy Awards celebrate, seems a particularly necessary commodity in the face of such noise, the courage to stand against a tide of barbarity and incivility.

President **Barack Obama** had a mixed year. He was slow to respond to the ISIS challenge—partly the fault of rosy intelligence, doctored to belie the jihadis' growing strength—but he deserves a Teddy for his pursuit and achievement of a nuclear deal with Iran, which may turn out to be a dud or, perhaps, a geostrategic breakthrough in the bleeding Middle East or, perhaps, just a deal that brings Iran back into compliance with the international Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. His quieter achievement was his continued moderation in the face of constant provocation. Moderation? Conservatives will scoff. But Obama stood firm against his party's left wing on trade, and he rightly sniped at nativist opponents who proposed an un-American ban on Syrian refugees. He also sang, in the midst of his lovely eulogy for the Charleston churchgoers, which was the emotional highlight of the year, and of his presidency. Thanks, Mr. President. We needed that.

Vice President **Joe Biden** had a terrible year, given the loss of his son, but he showed grace and a somber humanity—the sort of humanity often trampled at the intersection of public and private life.

This was not a stellar year for Democrats, who are drifting toward entrapment in a blinkered orthodoxy, but we'd be remiss not to acknowledge Congressman **Jerrold Nadler** of New York, who, despite a heavily Jewish constituency, supported the Iran deal—he should accept his Teddy for all those other Democrats who refused to be bullied on this issue. Tennessee Republican **Bob Corker** receives a Teddy as well, for his principled and, above all, careful leadership of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and because he insisted on meeting with leaders of the Israeli intelligence and military communities last January, even though Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu tried to prevent him.

A Lifetime Achievement Teddy goes to **George H.W. Bush,** whose good works were revisited in Jon Meacham's essential biography this year. Bush the elder remains an exemplar of civility in office, especially in the arena of foreign policy, where he remade Europe and reunited Germany after the Cold War by refusing to rub Russia's nose in its defeat. Now that was a reset! A Teddy should also go to Bush's Secretary of State, **James Baker,** who chose to give this year's keynote address at the annual dinner of J Street, a moderate pro-Israel group. He was reviled for this by the intemperate Israeli-expansionist right, and unfortunately criticized for it by the normally civil Jeb Bush. But Baker did it for a simple reason: he still believes in a two-state solution in the Middle East, as J Street does and the rest of us should.

Speaking of **Jeb Bush,** he wins a Teddy for holding on—just barely, on several occasions—to his enlightened positions on education and immigration reform, and for his demeanor. More than a few journalists said Bush didn't seem to "want it very badly" because he refused to shout and curse and demagogue. Most of his fellow candidates wanted it atrociously. A Teddy, too, to **John Kasich,** for his sanity and willingness, finally, to fight the rancid hatemongering that threatened to rot his party. (By the way, **Fox News** deserves a Teddy for running the best debate—with the best-prepared and toughest moderators—of the season, proving that good politics can be substantive and entertaining.)

And finally, a Teddy to all the diplomats out there—from **John Kerry** to Iran's **Mohammad Javad Zarif** to the unsung Americans toiling everywhere from Baghdad to the U.N. As Bill Clinton once said, diplomats are the exact opposite of terrorists. They struggle for peace, against all odds, in a world that seems to want only war. □

DARING GREATLY

Vice President Joe Biden suffered through the tremendous loss of his son but maintained his humility and his family's privacy amid media scrutiny over his presidential ambitions.

Senator Bob Corker, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, defied Benjamin Netanyahu's wishes and persisted in meeting with Israel's intelligence leaders.

BIDEN: REUTERS; CORKER: GETTY IMAGES

Lester Holt
Paris
We go to the story
so you get the story.
NBC NIGHTLY NEWS
WITH LESTER HOLT

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER
WIDEN YOUR WORLD
TURKISH AIRLINES
SO MANY COUNTRIES
SO LITTLE TIME
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The Choice

BY NANCY GIBBS

EUROPE'S MOST POWERFUL LEADER is a refugee from a time and place where her power would have been unimaginable. The German Democratic Republic, where Angela Merkel grew up, was neither democratic nor a republic; it was an Orwellian horror show, where the Iron Curtain found literal expression in the form of the Berlin Wall. The shy daughter of a Lutheran minister, Merkel slipped into politics as a divorced Protestant in a largely Catholic party, a woman in a frat house, an Ossi in the newly unified Germany of the 1990s where easterners were still aliens. No other major Western leader grew up in a stockade, which gave Merkel a rare perspective on the lure of

It is rare to see a leader in the process of shedding an old and haunting national identity

freedom and the risks people will take to taste it.

Her political style was not to have one; no flair, no flourishes, no charisma, just a survivor's sharp sense of power and a scientist's devotion to data. Even after Merkel became Germany's Chancellor in 2005, and then commanded the world's fourth largest economy, she remained resolutely dull—the better to be underestimated time and again. German pundits called her Merkelvellian when she outsmarted, isolated or just outlasted anyone who might mount a challenge to her. Ever cautious, she proudly practiced what Willy Brandt once called *Die Politik der kleinen Schritte* (the politics of baby steps), or as we call it in the U.S., leading from behind.

Then came 2015. Not once or twice but three times this year there has been reason to wonder whether Europe could continue to exist, not culturally or geographically but as a historic experiment in ambitious statecraft. Merkel had already emerged as the indispensable player in managing Europe's serial debt crises; she also led the West's response to Vladimir Putin's creeping theft of Ukraine. But now the prospect of Greek bankruptcy threatened the very existence of the euro zone. The migrant and refugee crisis challenged the principle of open borders. And finally, the carnage in Paris revived the reflex to slam doors, build walls and trust no one.

Each time Merkel stepped in. Germany would bail Greece out, on her strict terms. It would welcome refugees as casualties of radical Islamist savagery, not carriers of it. And it would deploy troops abroad in the fight against ISIS. Germany has spent the past 70 years testing antidotes to its toxically nationalist, militarist, genocidal past. Merkel brandished a different set of values—humanity, generosity, tolerance—to demonstrate how Germany's great strength could be used to save, rather than destroy. It is rare to see a leader in the process of shedding an old and haunting national identity. "If we now have to start apologizing for showing a friendly face in response to emergency situations," she said, "then that's not my country."

And so this time, the woman who trained as a quantum chemist did not run the tests and do the lab work; she made her stand. The blowback has come fast and from all sides. Donald Trump called Merkel "insane" and called the refugees "one of the great Trojan horses." German protesters called her a traitor, a whore; her allies warned of a popular revolt, and her opponents warned of economic collapse and cultural suicide. The conservative *Die Welt* published a leaked intelligence report warning about the challenge of assimilating a million migrants: "We are importing Islamic extremism, Arab anti-Semitism, national and ethnic conflicts of other people as well as a different understanding of society and law." Her approval ratings dropped more than 20 points, even as she broadcast her faith in her people: "*Wir schaffen das*," she has said over and over. "We can do this."

At a moment when much of the world is once more engaged in a furious debate about the balance between safety and freedom, the Chancellor is asking a great deal of the German people, and by their example, the rest of us as well. To be welcoming. To be unafraid. To believe that great civilizations build bridges, not walls, and that wars are won both on and off the battlefield. By viewing the refugees as victims to be rescued rather than invaders to be repelled, the woman raised behind the Iron Curtain gambled on freedom. The pastor's daughter wielded mercy like a weapon. You can agree with her or not, but she is not taking the easy road. Leaders are tested only when people don't want to follow. For asking more of her country than most politicians would dare, for standing firm against tyranny as well as expedience and for providing steadfast moral leadership in a world where it is in short supply, Angela Merkel is TIME's Person of the Year.

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EUROPE'S LEADER
In her 10th year in office, Merkel continues to try to strengthen—and sometimes hold together—the European Union, as she did on this 2015 trip to Ukraine to bolster economic ties with the embattled country

2015

PERSON OF THE YEAR

ANGELA MERKEL

CHANCELLOR OF THE FREE WORLD

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEFFEN KUGLER

By Karl Vick / Berlin
with Simon Shuster

Fairy tales are where you find them, but any number seem to begin in the dark German woods where Angela Merkel spent her childhood.

The girl who would grow up to be called the most powerful woman in the world came of age in a glade dappled by the northern sun and

PACK LEADER
Merkel, here hosting heads of G-7 nations ahead of a June meeting in southern Germany, has marshaled international consensus on crises in Ukraine and Syria

PHOTOGRAPH BY JESCO DENZEL

shadowed by tall pines.

Her family's house stood three stories, and the steep rake of its tile roof held an attic window in the shape of a half-open eye. Strangers walked on the paths below, passing residents who often moved at curious gaits. Cries of anguish were sometimes heard. To adults, Waldhof was home to the Lutheran seminary run by Merkel's father, an isolated compound—"forest court" in English—that hosted students and other short-term visitors while also functioning as a home and workplace for mentally disabled adults. But to a child of 3, Angela's age when her family arrived, it was a world unto itself, and would remain so until she went to school in the adjoining town of Templin. There, she came to realize that, like the 17 million other residents of East Germany, she actually was living within the walls of a fortress.

Merkel remained a captive for the first 35 years of her life, biding her time. As an adult, she lived in East Berlin, riding an elevated train beside the barricade whose 1961 construction she recalled as the first political memory of her life. When it fell in 1989, she gathered the qualities cultivated as a necessity in the East—patience, blandness, intellectual rigor and an inconspicuous but ferocious drive—and changed not only her life but the course of history.

The year 2015 marked the start of Merkel's 10th year as Chancellor of a united Germany and the de facto leader of the European Union, the most prosperous joint venture on the planet. By year's end, she had steered the enterprise through not one but two existential crises, either of which could have meant the end of the union that has kept peace on the continent for seven decades. The first was thrust upon her—the slow-rolling crisis over the euro, the currency shared by 19 nations, all of which were endangered by the default of a single member, Greece. Its resolution came at the signature plodding pace that so tries the patience of Germans that they have made it a verb: *Merkeling*.

The second was a thunderclap. In late summer, Merkel's government threw open Germany's doors to a pressing throng of refugees and migrants; a total of 1 million asylum seekers are expected in the country by the end of December. It was an audacious act that, in a single motion, threatened both to redeem Europe and endanger it, testing the resilience of an alliance formed to avoid repeating the kind of violence tearing asunder the Middle East by working together. That arrangement had worked well enough that it raised an existential question of its own, now being asked by the richest country in Europe: What does it mean to live well?

Merkel had her answer: "In many regions war and terror prevail. States disintegrate. For many years we have read about this. We have heard about it. We have seen it on TV. But we had not yet sufficiently understood that what happens in Aleppo and Mosul can affect Essen or Stuttgart. We have to face that now." For her, the refugee decision was a galvanizing moment in a career that until then had been defined by caution and avoidance of anything resembling drama. Analysts called it a jarring departure from form. But it may also have been inevitable, given how Angela Merkel feels about walls.

What was not inevitable but merely astounding was that the most generous, openhearted gesture of recent history blossomed from Germany, the country that within living memory (and beyond, as long as there's a History Channel) blew apart the European continent, and then the world, by taking to gruesome extremes all the forces its Chancellor strives to hold in check: nationalism, nativism, self-righteousness, reversion to arms. No one in Europe has held office longer—or to greater effect—in a world defined by steadily receding barriers. That, after all, is the story of the E.U. and the story of globalization, both terms as colorless as the corridor of a Brussels office building. The worlds Merkel has mastered carry not a hint of the forces that have shaped Europe's history, the primal sort a child senses, listening to a story, safe in bed.

In some ways, living in East Germany was like living on a stage set.

The German Democratic Republic called itself a sovereign nation, but it was Moscow's closest satellite in the Soviet bloc. Its deeply paranoid government put great store on appearances, employing thousands to spy on other citizens. It minted coins that felt strangely light in the palm—they were made of aluminum—and many streets were facades. "I stayed there for six or nine months in 1981. My impression is it was 1947 or '48," says Peer Steinbrück, a Social Democrat who both lost to Merkel and served as her Finance Minister. "Behind Unter den Linden, all these buildings were still destroyed. Bullet scars on the walls."

Erika Benn had the same feeling when she arrived in Templin in 1965 from university at Leipzig to teach Russian: "I said, Where have I ended up? My God." The medieval town had a history, with a church that dates from the 14th century. But churches were merely tolerated in the GDR, which was officially atheist.

That made public life delicate at Waldhof. Merkel's father Horst Kasner had moved his family there in 1957 after leaving Hamburg, where Angela, the first of three children, was born. Most people were moving in the other direction, to the West. But the Lutheran Church enjoyed a standing in German society that brought a measure of deference even from Marxist-Leninists. Its parishes in the

LEGEND OF THE FALL

Merkel with her husband, chemist Joachim Sauer, left, and German President Joachim Gauck during 2014 celebrations at Brandenburg Gate marking the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall

East became refuges for dissidents, something like embassies. That in turn brought anyone associated with them additional scrutiny, though Kasner's situation was tempered by his enthusiasm for socialism—at least as he understood it—and an evident talent for navigating the state apparatus.

It also helped that the pastor embraced a school of theology that steered clear of social activism and instead sought to reconcile the work of modern philosophers like Immanuel Kant with religious belief, according to a former adviser to Merkel. The discussions young Angela grew up amid in the parsonage were erudite and rigorous. Her mother Herlind, trained as an English teacher, was never allowed to teach the language. At school, Angela enrolled in Russian with Frau Benn.

The retired teacher keeps a file folder on her star student. Pulling out a black-and-white group photo, she points out Merkel in the back row, recognizable mostly by her helmet hair. "That's how she was: the girl in the back," says Benn. "She's about almost invisible. It's so typical of her, I can't even tell you."

As an adolescent, Merkel both lived inside her head and exulted in the outdoors. Physically clumsy, she avoided sports but camped with friends, all while excelling at school. As she got older, she explored as much of the world as a citizen of the Soviet bloc was permitted. The system's limits on wanderlust rendered Merkel, waiflike in her youth, with her face pressed up against the glass of a warm shop window.

She journeyed to Bulgaria and stared over the border toward the forbidden hillsides of Greece. She watched, as almost everyone in the GDR did, television stations beamed from West Germany, and dreamed of visiting California. Merkel understood that she would not be permitted to go there until

PREVIOUS PAGES: BUNDESREGIERUNG; THESE PAGES: KAY NIETFELD—EPA

she was 60, the age at which East Germany trusted its citizens to travel to the West. Yet she began to plan for it. Patience was a lesson of life in the East, as was realism.

"You know I grew up in the GDR," Merkel told a security conference in Munich in February, where she was peppered with demands that Russian President Vladimir Putin's incursion into Ukraine be answered with military force rather than the economic pressure Merkel had spearheaded. "As a 7-year-old child, I saw the Wall being erected. No one—although it was a stark violation of international law—believed at the time that one ought to intervene militarily in order to protect citizens of the GDR and whole Eastern bloc of the consequences of that, namely to live in lack of freedom for many, many years. And I don't actually mind. Because I understand this, because it was a realistic assessment that this would not lead to success."

Merkel plays the long game, in other words. For a career, she shrewdly chose a path in the field that communists worshipped instead of God: science. She studied physics at Leipzig University and married another scientist, Ulrich Merkel. She ended the marriage after five years but kept his name, even after marrying her current husband Joachim Sauer, a quantum chemist, after years spent living together.

More than that, she retained the disciplines of scientific inquiry learned on the way to a Ph.D. in quantum chemistry—intellectual diligence and a quest for the most reliable data. In combination with her natural, seemingly endless curiosity, the result was an inquisitiveness rare for a politician. Merkel also retained the survival instincts honed in a country where any citizen might prove to be a Stasi informant—the GDR's security agency had 274,000 agents—and the discretion intended to mask beliefs that emerged only when it was safe. But they did emerge.

"We've always had this experience that things take long, but I'm 100% convinced that our principles will in the end prevail," she told the audience in Munich. "No one knew how the Cold War would end at the time, but it did end. This is within our living

RIGHT TILT
The number of right-wing demonstrations, like this one in Dresden, which occurs every Monday, has grown since Merkel announced her policy on migrants

experience … I'm surprised at how fainthearted we sometimes are, and how quickly we lose courage."

The day the Berlin Wall came down, Nov. 9, 1989, Merkel was about to have her regular Thursday-night sauna with a friend. A creature of habit, she kept to her routine, finishing her sweat before venturing with the crowds into West Berlin. She stopped in an apartment, talked to the people there and had a beer. The label on it was unfamiliar. Then she went back across no-man's-land and changed her life. She was 35 years old.

No obvious natural boundary separates Austria from Germany.

The snowy mountains of Bavaria look an awful lot like the snowy mountains of Austria, and the two-lane highway from Kiefersfelden, in one country, to Kufstein, in the other, is a smoother transition than from Maryland to Pennsylvania—not even the road surface changes. You almost have to ask a local to know what country you're in.

This uncertainty counts as one of the great triumphs of the modern age. In the past 70 years, supreme efforts have been made to erase national boundaries in Europe or at least render them harmless. This effort is known as the European Union, which includes 28 countries and, it must be said, is reliably boring. But that's the whole idea. For thousands of years, the Continent generated not white papers but wars too numerous to mention—especially to Americans, who know them only from textbooks and strain to recall them only until the written test. "Europe's Wars, 1648–1789: A Selection" takes up two pages in Appendix III of Norman Davies' *Europe: A History.*

But everyone knows World War II, the cataclysm that still defines Germany for many, not least because the Nazis are a staple of global popular culture as a stand-in for unqualified evil. That war claimed at least 50 million lives worldwide, most of them civilians, and produced a raft of international

PHOTOGRAPH BY HARF ZIMMERMANN FOR TIME

institutions—from the United Nations to the International Monetary Fund—aimed at preventing anything like it from happening again. The one that ultimately mattered most was thought up by the countries with the bloodiest records: the postwar leaders of France and Germany began the European Coal and Steel Community, which grew even blander as it expanded. By the time it was called the European Union, in 1991, the supranational organization had been washed of all color. Countries surrendered elements of sovereignty to it in exchange for access to shared markets and an overarching identity as European, their citizens able to move among 26 countries without showing a passport and among 19 without having to change money. Founded on a series of interlocking treaties, the E.U. exists, a cynic could say, largely as an endless series of meetings and nearly endless regulations.

On the other hand, none of its members has raised more than a voice against another for seven decades—a modern record. In 2012, the E.U. was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The gold medal was accepted by three officials, none of whom actually ran the union. By then, that responsibility had fallen, more or less, to Merkel.

To a large extent, the job came with the territory. Merkel was Chancellor of Germany, and Germany was the most populous and prosperous member in a union that had become a lucrative club. As globalization rewarded scale and standardization, E.U. membership became a ticket to prosperity, especially for members of the former East bloc. German manufacturers, working in concert with labor outsourced to its poorer neighbors, built an export economy that remains the healthiest in Europe and the fourth largest in the world.

But Merkel was made for the job. The E.U.'s mission of removing barriers and spreading democracy was her mission too. And the plodding, patient style she brought from the laboratory meshed with the E.U. mandate encouraging decision by consensus. She appeared to be the perfect person to navigate the euro crisis, which began in 2010 and reached equilibrium this year. By then, she was being caricatured with Hitler's mustache, and Germans had coined the word *Merkeling*.

The problem was Greece. The country that gave the world democracy was supplying it with headaches. Athens was broke and carried debts it could never hope to pay. If the country still had its own currency, it might at least dilute the problem by printing more of it. But like 18 other E.U. countries, Greece had exchanged its money, the drachma, for the euro—and the only way to pay its debts was by asking its neighbors for more euros. Merkel stood by the cash register, with her lessons from East Germany. There the collapse of the Wall had been swiftly followed by the collapse of the economy, an event as traumatic as the breach had been euphoric, but experienced only by the Ossis, as East Germans were called. What's more, the trigger had been a common currency: the abrupt introduction of the West German deutsche mark to the East shuttered factories, putting millions out of work, including Merkel.

"I come from a country in which I experienced economic collapse," Merkel reminded reporters in 2012. If Greece's debt was not reduced "sustainably and with a view to the long term, Europe simply will no longer be the prosperous continent that the world listens to and that gets people's attention."

What got people's attention during the saga of Greece—and Portugal, and Ireland, and briefly Italy, but first and last, Greece—was Merkel's stern mien. She wasn't the only Northerner preaching austerity to the sunny Mediterranean nations that spent money they did not have. But it was Merkel who became the face of the European banker, caricatured here as a dominatrix, there as a Storm Trooper. The crisis went on for years, and Merkel's image grew as entrenched as her position: rescue only if Greece ended its spendthrift ways.

It wasn't entirely Athens' fault; the euro had a deeper problem that dated from its birth: the currency bound nations together economically without a parallel political apparatus, a problem Merkel diagnosed and set out to eventually solve through lengthy treaty renegotiations. But the immediate political problem was the civic culture of Greece, where the rich avoided taxes and governments spent lavishly. Greeks rioted, a government fell. But in the end, the leaders who hoped to defy Merkel's E.U. had no choice but to back down. It was either face expulsion from the euro zone or swallow austerity measures that gutted pensions and public services. The saga cemented Merkel's status as leader of Europe, if a chilly one.

"They call me Little Angela Merkel when they think I'm being too strict," says Angela Klingbeil, of her colleagues at the Berlin firm where she heads accounting. Klingbeil smiles grimly, looking into the remains of the cappuccino she was sipping at an outdoor café in Alexanderplatz, the former center of East Berlin. Today its retail temples outshine the

MINISTER'S DAUGHTER

Merkel in 1958 at age 3, after her family moved to a tiny East German village where her father ran a Lutheran seminary

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THE ALL-NEW TACOMA

Kurfürstendamm, the marquee shopping street deliberately fashioned to advertise the attractions of capitalism to East Germans like Merkel. The Chancellor has recalled darting from shopping basket to shopping basket "like a lynx" to see who had emerged from a store with a line worth joining. Toothbrushes and underwear were particular treasures.

But life in a consumer paradise begs a modern question: How much shopping can you do? In December 2014, Pope Francis traveled to Strasbourg to chide the European Parliament—one of the vaguer institutions—about being and nothingness. The Argentine called Europe "less and less a protagonist" in a world that regards the continent as "somewhat elderly and haggard." Said the Pontiff: "The great ideas which once inspired Europe seem to have lost their attraction, only to be replaced by the bureaucratic technicalities of its institutions." He accused Europe's leaders of confusing unity with uniformity and "the reality of democracy with a new political nominalism."

It was Merkel who most famously framed the euro crisis in existential terms—"If the euro fails, Europe fails," she said—but did that mean the union was at bottom only about money? Merkel often says Ossis know that after working hard in exchange for almost nothing, the ability to procure a decent living in exchange for hard work matters in the competition between ideologies. But that's not the same as being coldhearted, the reputation stalking both Germany and its Chancellor when Merkel, with the euro crisis just winding down, appeared at a meeting with students on July 16. It was for a televised discussion called *Living Well in Germany,* and a young girl named Reem raised her hand and explained that her family members were Palestinian refugees and faced deportation to Lebanon.

EASTERN GIRL

A teenage Merkel is photographed at a New Year's Eve party in East Berlin in 1972 or 1973. The future Chancellor spent her youth in the communist world

"As long as I don't know that I can stay here, I don't know what my future will be," the 14-year-old said in fluent German. "I want to study. It's really painful to watch how other people can enjoy life and you can't enjoy it with them."

The Chancellor looked taken aback. "I understand," she began, "and yet I have to …" There was an easy way out: deflect the plea, perhaps promise to have someone look at the family's file. Merkel went another way. "Sometimes politics is hard," she informed the girl. "You're a very nice person, but you know that there are thousands and thousands of people in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, and if we say, 'You can all come,' and, 'You can all come from Africa,' and 'You can all come,' we just can't manage that."

Merkel broke off a moment later because the girl was weeping. "Oh *Gott,*" she muttered, moving across the room. "I want to comfort her." But the girl was inconsolable, and the footage went viral.

Thirty-five when the Wall fell, Merkel was all of 36 when she took office as a

minister in the first government of a united Federal Republic of Germany. Everything moved fast in the heady days that ended the Cold War—the East bloc nations threw off their communist governments in the space of weeks—but even by the standards of the time, Merkel's transformation had a storybook quality, a sword pulled from a stone.

Suddenly freed of the pressing eyes of the Stasi, the quietly political household at the Waldhof was allowed to participate in the open. Merkel went to the Berlin office of a new East German party calling itself Democratic Awakening, which was going to stand in the first (and last) elections in a divided Germany. She ended up as deputy press secretary for the man elected as the East's Prime Minister, thanks to a quiet word from an official in Awakening's sister party in the West, the Christian Democratic Union.

On the surface, the CDU was not a natural fit. Merkel's mother, whose father had been a politician in Danzig, would win local office with the Social Democrats, a center-left party. Before his 2011 death, her father, according to Benn, aligned with the Green Party, leftists with an environmental bent. The Christian Democrats were center-right, Catholic, culturally conservative and something of a boys' club. By choosing them, Merkel—a divorced Protestant from the East bloc who lived with her lover—would presage a tidal shift in German society, which a quarter-century later would be less formal, more liberal and more comfortable with itself.

But at the time, the choice spoke more to Merkel's ambition. The CDU controlled the government, and after seeking out an introduction to Helmut Kohl, the novice counted the then Chancellor of Germany as her political mentor. His party made Merkel its candidate for a constituency in the far north of Germany, on a peninsula extending into the Baltic Sea. A photograph shows her in a denim skirt and collarless shirt, looking a bit lost as she gets the feel for retail politics

JOERG GLAESCHER/LAIF/REDUX

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WOMAN OF THE WORLD

Clockwise from top right: Merkel speaks with Barack Obama at the G-7 summit on June 8; she chats with Alexis Tsipras in Brussels before a meeting on refugees on Oct. 25; she shares a close moment with François Hollande in Paris before a unity rally on Jan. 11; she welcomes Queen Elizabeth in Berlin on June 24; she discusses Syria, the E.U. and counterterrorism with David Cameron at his country retreat on Oct. 9

CAMERON: BUNDESREGIERUNG; OBAMA, TSIPRAS: REUTERS; HOLLANDE: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ELIZABETH II: BUNDESREGIERUNG/GETTY IMAGES

by drinking brandy in a hut with bearded fishermen.

After the CDU won the unified election, Kohl put Merkel in his Cabinet as Minister for Women and Youth. Later that year she was in California, the place she'd longed to see, on a state visit that proceeded to the White House. She shook hands with Ronald Reagan, a girlhood hero of hers for standing up to the Soviets. But if her dreams were coming true, they carried a price. She was "Kohl's girl," introduced to delegations like a novelty item, an exotic creature from the East. Merkel bristled and withdrew to the background she preferred. At the same time, she craved acknowledgment on her own terms, crying tears of frustration when she felt slighted on her first trip to Israel—"a weakness that Merkel quite often displayed early on in her political career," according to biographer Stefan Kornelius.

"Even when she was awkward and shy, you could feel her energy, you could feel her power, from the beginning," says Herlinde Koelbl, a prominent German photographer who in 1991 began taking portraits of 15 up-and-coming politicians, including Merkel. The portraits were retaken each year for a book titled *Traces of Power,* a kind of longitudinal study of ambition in pictures. Obtaining the pols' cooperation was not a problem. "They love it. They love to be photographed and filmed," Koelbl says. "Merkel is not like that. She's not vain. To be vain, if you're familiar with Wagner, it's an Achilles' heel for everyone, I would say. That's one way she was protected, in a certain way. And is still protected."

FRESHLY MINTED POLITICIAN

Merkel in 1991, the first of a series of annual portraits by Herlinde Koelbl for a photography book on power and appearance

Germany's male politicians were the first to make the mistake of underestimating Merkel. At one point, Gerhard Schröder, the preening peacock who headed the Social Democrats and was Chancellor from 1998 to 2005, publicly called her "pitiful" as Environment Minister, the position she assumed after the CDU was re-elected in 1994. "I will put him in the corner, just like he did with me," she told Koelbl the next time they met. "I still need time, but one day, the time will come for this. And I am already looking forward."

By the available evidence, Merkel's performance as Environment Minister

was not bad at all. She mounted the second major global conference on climate change, in Berlin, which ended with the first promise to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. But that's what Merkel does—work a system, persevere, seek consensus. It's all very worthy and is probably the key to her success, but it can't compete with the flash of a knife's blade that then disappeared into her sleeve for most of a decade.

When she finally put Schröder in that corner, he appeared not to know it, and she pretended not to. It was election night 2005, and neither his party nor Merkel's had won a majority. That did not stop Schröder from "mansplaining" the results at length during the television show known as the "elephant round," where, by German tradition, candidates gather to parse the returns. Schröder would not shut up, fairly shouting that no one else would be able to create a government. Merkel looked on with a blank expression. Two months later, she was sworn in as Chancellor.

By then she had dispatched Kohl, her mentor and patron, by publicly calling in December 1999 for his removal after he became tangled in a campaign-finance scandal. She had served him for eight years, plus another year in the opposition, and simply announced his time was up. "She doesn't take on fights she can't win," says Kornelius. "There are a couple of examples out there, lying in their coffins, of people who got in her way."

Yet Germans call her Mommy. The word in German, *Mutti,* is even cozier, summoning the sense of being cared for that accumulated over Merkel's 10 years in office. The country has grown steadily more prosperous on her watch, thanks in part to changes put in place by her predecessor, but also to the sure hand by which she navigated the global recession. Germany overtook France as the most competitive major European economy and found trading partners outside the continent, especially China.

Critics complain that she governs by poll, moving cautiously in order to test the limits of policy. *Der Spiegel* reported that in the space of four years, her Chancellery commissioned more than 600 such surveys. "It's a funny kind of boldness, when you wait until you have public opinion behind you," says Hans Kundnani, a senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund. Rivals attribute that caution to the hair's-breadth closeness of her first national election. But caution has also been her calling card nearly from birth. "She moves very, very carefully," says Steinbrück, the former Finance Minister, "and I think that follows from growing up in the GDR." Merkel once said that in school, she preferred to sit in the middle of the classroom if not all the way in the back, because she "liked to have the overview."

The back is also where a ship's captain stands, and Merkel likes the freedom to make course corrections

as needed, with all other eyes to the front. Her method is to study a problem to its foundations, vacuuming up data and asking endless questions. "She knows details you wouldn't expect a Cabinet minister to know," says Matthias Wissmann, who served beside her in Kohl's Cabinet. In Germany's version of the White House, so airy and light-filled it could be a museum, the massive desk at the far end of Merkel's seventh-floor office is mostly decorative. She uses it for making telephone calls to foreign leaders—something she does a lot—and ceremonial events. Every other visit is a working visit and takes place at the long conference table near the door, where she spends most of her day. When, after much study, she decides on a course, she is unlikely to announce what it is, preferring the freedom of proceeding step by step on a map never made public. "She says she has a plan," Steinbrück says, "but she doesn't tell anyone what it is."

Merkel's hands-on approach carries a constant danger of getting lost in the weeds, as many said she did during the euro crisis. But she also has a record of scanning the globe from a high altitude, focusing intently on dangers not yet apparent to others. At that Munich security conference, almost every questioner wanted to know why she favored economic sanctions on Putin's Russia instead of sending arms to the Ukrainian republic he had invaded. "Frederick the Great said that diplomacy without arms is like music without instruments," a former U.K. Defense Minister pointedly observed, to applause.

Merkel knows Putin's bullying at a visceral level. In 2007, on a visit to his Black Sea residence, the Russian strongman opened the door during a photo opportunity and let in his massive Labrador, named Koni. Merkel, whose fear of dogs is well known, eyed the canine with visible distress as it sniffed around her. Cameras whirred, and from the next chair Putin watched with a broad smile and legs spread wide. But she refused to be drawn.

Her analytical, cerebral approach to governance has brought Merkel closer to U.S. President Barack Obama than either of them would have thought after she denied him permission to make a 2008 campaign speech at Brandenburg Gate, a historic Berlin venue reserved for leaders who have already been elected. Their relationship has warmed steadily over the years, surviving Edward Snowden's revelations that the U.S. tapped the smartphone she carries in her handbag.

That may be because the two have found they react similarly to crises—with stubborn rationalism—even if they don't always agree on the right response. Obama praised Merkel's stand on refugees as "courageous." The President and his aides were less excited about the impasse on Greek debt, which precipitated Obama's July intervention with calls to Merkel and Greek leader Alexis Tsipras in pursuit of a deal. For her part, Merkel regards Germany's alliance with the U.S. as the keystone to its foreign policy.

"She has demonstrated particularly bold moral and practical leadership on the refugee crisis, welcoming vulnerable migrants despite the political costs," says Obama's National Security Adviser Susan Rice. "The President values her as a good friend and one of his closest and most trusted international partners."

Merkel holds her people's confidence, to judge by the polls—both at election time and in between. Her party has gained more seats with each ballot, reaching nearly 50% in 2013, when she won a third term. "In the beginning, she was considered weak. 'She doesn't like to take positions.' 'She's so slow.' All that. But that's the way she works," says Sylke Tempel, editor of the *Berlin Policy Journal.*

Unlikely as it may sound in the era of Donald Trump and Barack Obama, the blandness is an asset. "Politics is a talent," says Koelbl, the photographer. "But it's different in Germany. We don't like so much the performers. In America, you say, 'I'm fantastic. I'm great. I did this.' You don't do this in Germany."

Part of it has to do with history. "I've heard lots of Germans talk about Obama and then bring up Hitler," says Kundnani of the German Marshall Fund. "They find charismatic leadership worrying. And rhetoric." Another part is surely the particular qualities of the speaker herself. Merkel used to fidget at the podium, never sure what to do with her hands. When she finally found a comfortable position, fingertips pressed to each other like Spock, it became a signature. The "Merkel rhombus," or "raute," inspired an emoticon, -<>-, flash mobs and a 2013 CDU campaign ad with 2,150 supporters holding the pose to pledge "Germany's future in good hands."

By her own account, though, she still can't deliver a speech. "Merkel has this rare talent to put these very clear, direct thoughts into mushy rhetoric," notes Tempel. "Usually it's the other way around. But she really means what she says." And in churches, people have noticed, she can actually manage eloquence. Her Nov. 23 eulogy for Helmut Schmidt, the tetchy

POLITICAL PATRICIDE

Merkel's public call in 1999 for her former mentor, Helmut Kohl, to step aside proved decisive in his demise and her rise to power

ULLSTEIN BILD/GETTY IMAGES

former Chancellor who died at age 96, stood out for its potency and because many listeners believed she was talking as much about herself as the deceased.

"We trusted him," she said. "We trusted that he would get the situation under control and well in hand … If Helmut Schmidt was convinced of the right thing to do, then he did it … He was steadfast … Even with all his willingness to act, he was convinced that a decision was only ripe once it had been thought out and imbibed with reason … The greatness of his chancellorship was in the wisdom and consistency of his governance." Most of all, she said, "he was willing to pay the highest price, because he always factored the risk of failure into his actions—even including the risk of losing his chancellorship."

The public face that Koelbl has been photographing since 1991 is "her mask,"

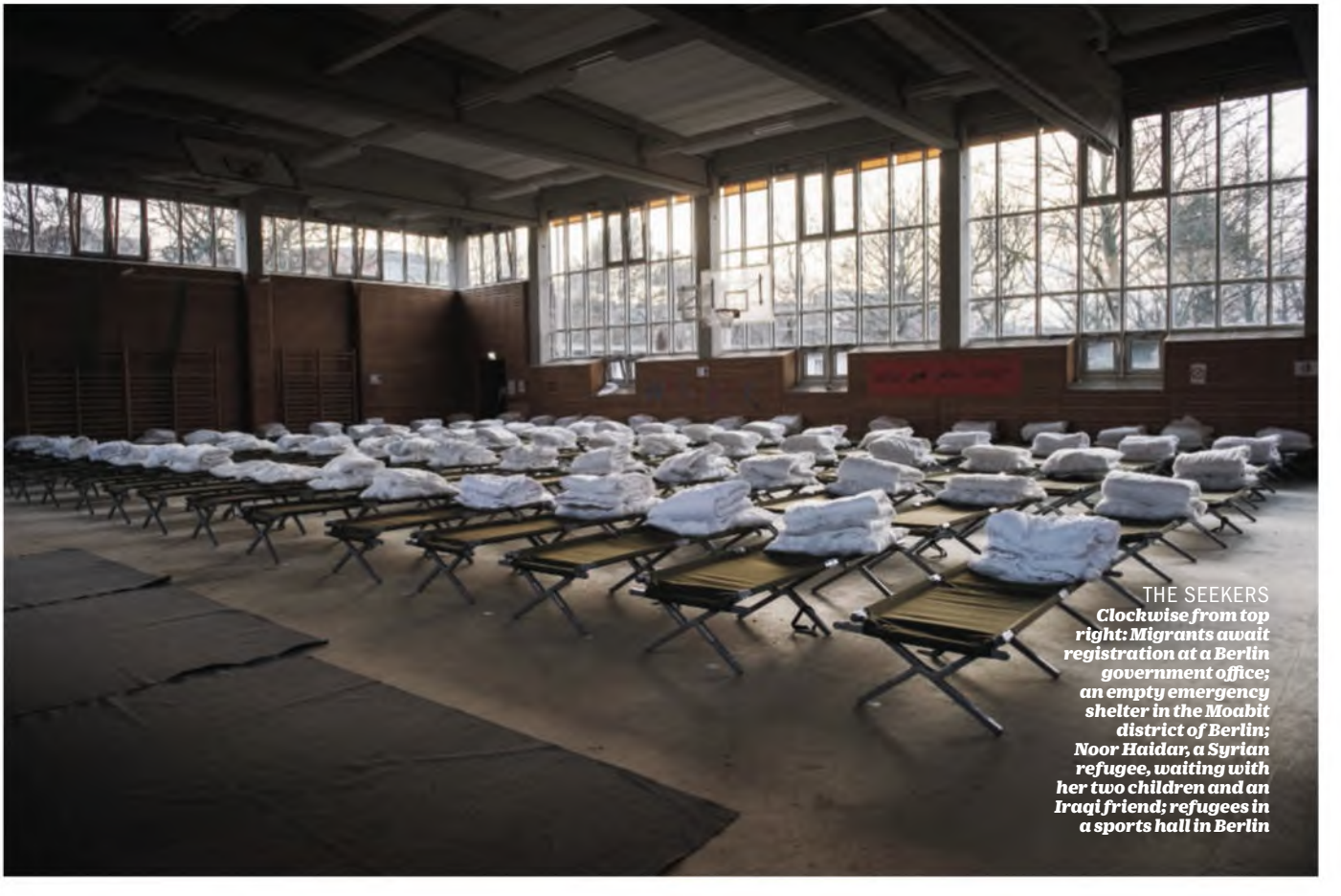
the photographer says, a deadpan expression with bangs that also serves as comic trope, Photoshopped into vamps and nuns. Her attire is equally predictable: a colored blazer, black pants. On Nov. 22, the day marking a solid decade in office, the daily *Die Welt* noted the anniversary with a front-page montage of 10 photos from her annual New Year's address: 10 frames, same outfit. When Hillary Clinton was U.S. Secretary of State, Merkel presented her with a framed copy of a German newspaper that ran a photo of the women, both in blazers and black slacks, their hands clasped in front of them but

ANSWERED PRAYERS
An asylum seeker prays on the floor of a shelter in Prenzlauer Berg, a locality in northeastern Berlin. Some 200 refugees were housed in less than two hours by German volunteers

Searching for refuge in Germany

An estimated 1 million refugees and migrants will have arrived in Germany by the end of 2015. *They have fled countries like Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Eritrea and more. They've escaped war and poverty, and in Germany they've found a country willing to take them in. In December the photographer Yuri Kozyrev, who earlier this year documented the initial wave of asylum seekers making their way across Greece and the Balkans, traveled to Germany, where gymnasiums, classrooms and airport hangars have been desperately converted into refugee shelters. But while Germans have mostly followed their Chancellor's example and welcomed the refugees, exhaustion over the sheer numbers may be setting in—while the refugees themselves wonder what will come next.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY YURI KOZYREV FOR TIME



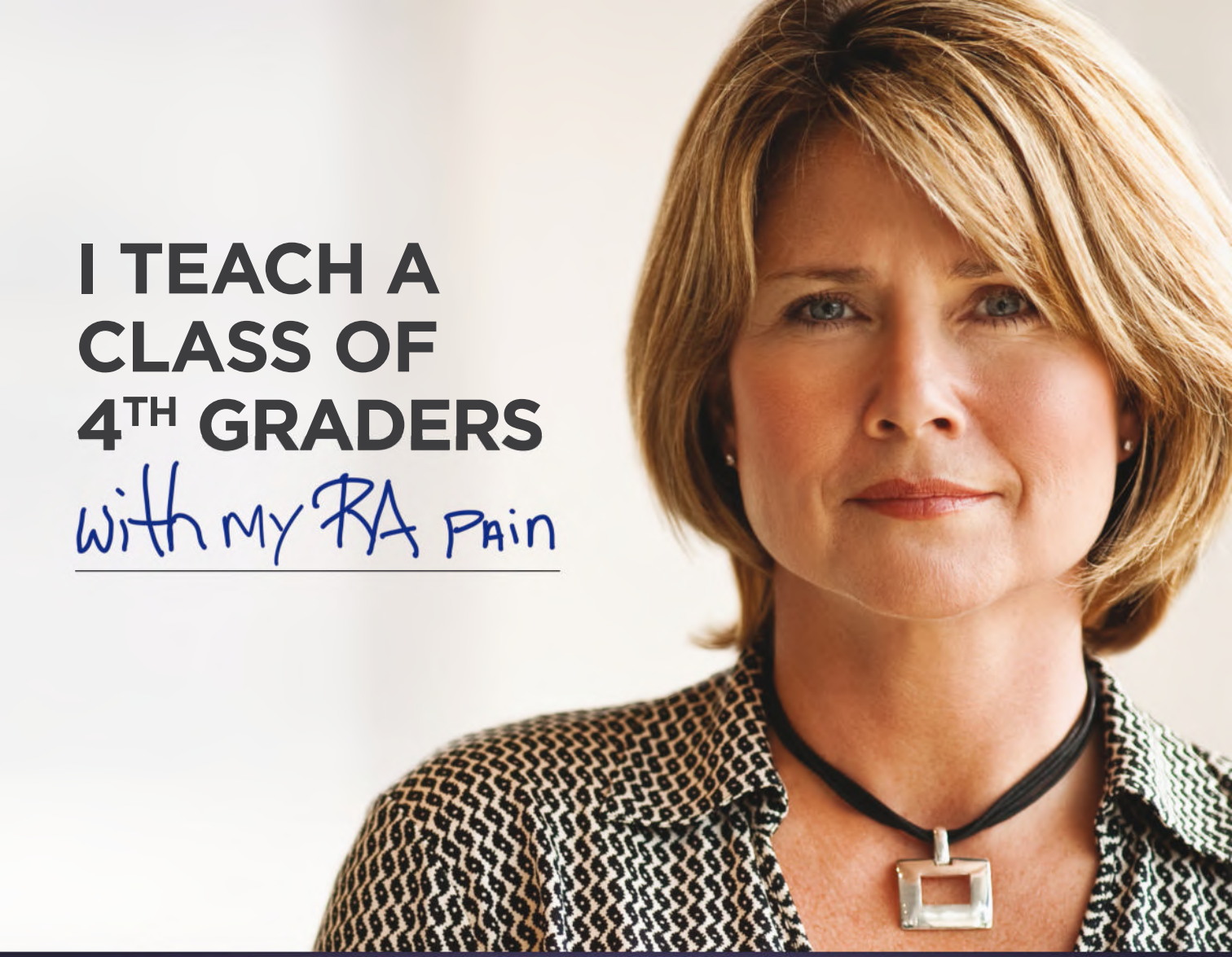
THE SEEKERS
Clockwise from top right: Migrants await registration at a Berlin government office; an empty emergency shelter in the Moabit district of Berlin; Noor Haidar, a Syrian refugee, waiting with her two children and an Iraqi friend; refugees in a sports hall in Berlin

PREVIOUS PAGES AND THESE PAGES: YURI KOZYREV—NOOR FOR TIME

HOME PORT

Used by the Nazis and once one of the world's largest buildings, today Berlin's Tempelhof airport is being used as a major shelter for asylum seekers

PHOTOGRAPH BY HARF ZIMMERMANN FOR TIME



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Continued from page 76

their heads cropped. ANGELA MERKEL? HILLARY CLINTON? the headline asked.

By the accounts of colleagues and visitors, Merkel is as entertaining in private as she is stolid in public. In the right mood, she will caricature other public figures to devastating effect, and finds an edge in conversation to make pointed jokes, both at her own expense and that of others. Bombastic males are a specialty. When, in her first term, then French President Nicolas Sarkozy gestured to a Toulouse crowd and remarked to Merkel how happy the people were to see them, she told him, dryly, "Nicolas, I think compared to you, I am an energy-conserving lamp."

"I think most of the time I've spent with her she is smiling," says Robert Kimmitt, a former ambassador who has known her since 1991. Select reporters can see the playful and barbed side of Merkel when, on trips abroad, she calls them into the salon on her Airbus A319 or in occasional small-group briefings at the Chancellery. But the occasions are strictly off the record, and no one dares disobey.

Glimpses are visible sometimes, however, in the behavior of world leaders emerging from closed-door sessions with her. Sarkozy went from narcissist to wingman on the euro. George W. Bush famously sneaked up on her from behind at a G-8 summit and started to give her a neck rub. She clenched and shook him off, then turned and came up with a smile. There are photographs of Merkel with current French President François Hollande in which she appears to have her head on his shoulder.

"Behind the doors I think she's very convincing. She's very clever and very fast and picks up the information you give her," says Steinbrück. "She's reliable. When you come to some conclusion, she's always going to stick to that." But she enforces extremely strict controls on information, emphasizing the necessity of absolute confidentiality in all matters. "When you violate that, you never get another chance," says Steinbrück. Merkel's Chancellery is an extraordinarily tight ship, as buttoned down as she is. Her inner circle is more like a knot consisting of just six or seven key aides, two of whom have been with her the whole 10 years.

In the mid-1990s, Merkel told Koelbl she was thinking of leaving politics. The strain of government service was wearing on her, she recalls her saying: "She didn't want to be 'emptied out.'" The feeling obviously passed, and a few years later she began showing up for her portrait wearing makeup. Her body language grew more confident. Looking back, Koelbl notes the change coincided with her decision to run for Chancellor. Whatever reserve Merkel located within herself, associates say it is replenished by her private hours. This is the part of her life at once most closely guarded and well known, at least to Germans, who regard Merkel's lifestyle as authentic, even endearing evidence that whatever her flaws, their Chancellor is one of them.

Unified Germany is a relatively new democracy. It has no finished official residence, and if it did, Merkel would continue to live in the central Berlin apartment she shares with her husband, whose name is on the buzzer. "I always show it to Latin American visitors," says Wissmann, who was Transportation Minister when Merkel ran the environment department. "I don't know if it's 100 square meters or 120, but that's for a world leader. She is living modestly."

The most powerful woman in the world does her own grocery shopping, dragging a small security contingent to the German equivalent of Kroger's. "If you have good luck, you meet her on a Friday afternoon at the supermarket buying a bottle of white wine and a fish for dinner for her and her husband," says Wissmann. "That's not a show."

A SCIENTIST FIRST

Merkel earned a Ph.D. in quantum chemistry before entering politics; here she holds a beaker of water while serving as Environment Minister in the 1990s

ULRICH BAUMGARTEN—GETTY IMAGES

By the time Reem burst into tears, Germany's refugee crisis was already under

way, though no one was calling it a crisis yet. About 200,000 people had applied for asylum since January at that point, twice the number of the previous year, but the baseline says a lot about what the country had become used to. There are many ways that Germany has made payments on its Nazi past—like its emphatic support for Israel (flights from which are met at Germany's airports by armed guards), its reluctance to use its military and the intensely felt, almost constant reminders of collective guilt embedded in school curricula and every other facet of public life that make up what Germans call, after taking a deep breath, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*—roughly translated as "wrestling the past into submission."

But perhaps the least known is its embrace of new

arrivals. National Socialism built a fascist state on the ideal of a master race and a myth of genetic purity, but postwar Germany has become something of a nation of immigrants. The first wave of refugees were fellow Germans displaced by World War II. They were taken in by those whose homes survived, the foundation of *Willkommenskultur,* the "welcome culture" that later embraced asylum seekers.

Then, in the 1960s, came the Turks, guest workers from small-town Anatolia who were needed to fill a labor shortage. Though they were not immediately integrated into German society, a half-century later their absorption is regarded as a model for other Muslim arrivals. "Where I come from, in my city, 10% of people came from Turkey. There was no problem," says Hans-Peter Friedrich, a former Interior Minister. "They came to Bavaria. They had to send their kids to kindergarten. They are German now. My sister-in-law is Turkish."

Next were the Spanish, Portuguese, Greeks, Italians—workers from the Mediterranean countries that would later falter—all for jobs. In 1988 Düsseldorf, a priest recalls, only half the students he taught in Catholic school had been born in Germany. All learned the language of Goethe, which was the key to integrating in a culture that, along the way, lost some of its heaviness.

Few miss it. In her youth, Tempel says, inviting the neighbors over for a meal required formal invitations and elaborate preparation. Today people just drop by, and many Germans are seeking out direct contact with refugees, even taking them into their homes. "My parents are conservative, parochial people, like all parents are conservative, parochial people," Tempel says, "but they're very happy with the changes made in the last 10 to 15 years."

None of which prepared anyone for what has become known as the Hungarian weekend. Syrians had been coming to Germany for months, even years, in a steady trickle that also included Afghans, Pakistanis and other nationalities. But the numbers were limited by the difficulty of the journey, which for three years had involved finding one's way to Libya, then crossing the Mediterranean, usually to Italy. The journey was expensive and as risky as staying in a war zone. Libyan police locked people up. Smugglers stole. And boats capsized. After 800 people drowned on April 19, the E.U. sent patrol boats to turn them back.

DOG SHOW

Merkel reacts to Putin's Labrador, Koni, at a meeting in Sochi, Russia, in 2007. She is known to be afraid of dogs—a fact Putin seemed well aware of

DMITRY ASTAKHOV—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Then a new route opened. It was safer: crossing maybe 3 miles (5 km) of sea, between Turkey, where more than 2 million Syrians had taken shelter, and Greece, Europe's doorstep. Under E.U. rules, migrants seeking asylum were supposed to stop there and await a decision, the idea being to use the outermost ring of E.U. members as a fence, protecting the freedom of movement among the 26 nations (called the Schengen Area for where the treaty was signed) where no passport is required. But no one wanted to stay in economically struggling Greece. Everyone had heard good things about Germany. Sweden, just beyond, was even more famously receptive.

"In Europe," says Jamil Ahmad, just arrived from Syria, "we feel human." The Balkan route ran northwest from Greece, across Macedonia and Serbia to Hungary, then on to Austria and finally Germany. And just as it was pioneered, marked and published to fellow refugees on Facebook and WhatsApp, events in the Middle East conspired to further encourage migration. Inside Syria, press gangs from the government of Bashar Assad were going door to door, forcing young men into the stalemated conflict. Life was also taking a wrenching turn for Syrians who had fled to neighboring countries—Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, the north of Iraq, where the U.N. had set up facilities to house and feed refugees convenient to the nation to which they would presumably return. After four years and 250,000 deaths, Syria was no longer compelling enough. Donor fatigue brought shortfalls in U.N. budgets. In July, the word went out to refugees in Jordan and Lebanon that from August, they would be expected to feed themselves on half as much as before, just 50¢ a day. Aid officials say thousands then headed for the exit toward Europe.

Migrants are expert at urban camouflage. Their uncertain legal status makes them skittish, anxious to avoid attracting attention. But there was no hiding the numbers moving across Europe in August, hundreds at a time tramping through fields, across pastures and in a wide column down the emergency lane of European freeways, while Citroëns and Volkswagens whizzed by.

Every saga has its galvanizing moment. In this one it was on Sept. 2, with the publication of the photograph of the body of 3-year-old Alan Kurdi washed

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up on a Turkish beach. The image instantly lifted Syria's refugees to the top of the global agenda. People who in the Middle East had remained foreigners became in Europe protagonists whose almost biblical exodus was charted by the hour on satellite news. When the story reached Hungary, a villain emerged in Viktor Orban, the right-wing Prime Minister who refused to allow the refugees to board trains toward Austria, the last stop before Germany. The standoff stranded hundreds at Budapest's Keleti station on platforms that doubled as the world stage.

Merkel watched along with everyone else on the planet. She knew Keleti station—Hungary was one of the few places she was permitted to travel as a citizen of the GDR. "In East Germany," she told TIME in an interview six years ago, "we always ran into boundaries before we were able to discover our own personal boundaries." Austria's Chancellor phoned. His tone was urgent. The first weekend in September passed in a flurry of calls and logistics. Finally, an arrangement was struck to usher the refugees through Vienna, where they boarded trains for Germany. When they lurched into Munich's central station, hundreds of Germans greeted them with cheers, flowers and diapers. WELCOME, the signs read. "Thank you, Germany!" the refugees chanted. The scene was transcendent, almost too good to be true.

FAMILY MATTERS
Merkel with her father Horst Kasner and mother Herlind in 2005. The eldest of three, she has no children of her own

Many say it was. "The country was simply carried away with this," Kornelius recalls in his Munich office. "People were drunk with how good they were." Three months later, Germans are still nursing a buzz. But as the refugees keep coming—nearly a million so far, with no end in sight—they're also wondering what got into them, and into *Mutti*. "This crisis really shows a new Merkel," her biographer says. "You've never seen the soft side of Merkel until now."

The Chancellor has not spoken publicly about the decision to admit the refugees, and her office, citing the press of events that flowed from it, declined interview requests from TIME. But the source of the action—certain to be her legacy, for good or ill—is more apparent than where it will lead. Those who know her say it followed logically from the sight of Hungarian border guards holding back refugees at gunpoint in order to build a fence topped with razor wire.

"She has one principle—an emotional belief, I think—as one who in her younger years was not able to travel around the world," says Wissmann. "She does not want to see people surrounded by walls. I think she has an instinctive reaction if someone asks for a wall. I know her well. If you ask me what is her main principle belief, it's around this issue: Let us be free. From the station of a person, up to the free-trade pact of a nation."

That's not what she told little Reem, of course. But if good public policy balances head and heart, one of the minor marvels of the refugee crisis was that it forced Merkel's decision-making process—usually so heavily guarded—into the public realm. Her prudent "We can't take you all" message on television was balanced against all the times she had urged Germans in the months before to lay out the welcome mat. Refugees were the centerpiece of Merkel's 2015 New Year's address: "Many literally escaped death. It goes without saying that we will help them and take in people who seek refuge with us." As their numbers increased over the summer, she visited refugee shelters inside Germany, posing with smiling migrants for selfies uploaded immediately on social media, where would-be migrants discussed whether now was the time to go, and where. "She opened the door for our needs," says Israa Ibrahim, 25 and seven months pregnant, as she prepared to board a bus for Bavaria. "She can feel in her heart how tired we are."

The paradox is that by opening the gates to Syrians, Merkel threw into doubt the larger project of Europe. The most immediate danger is the free movement between Schengen countries. That barely visible border between Austria and Germany is now backed up for miles, as police open every truck looking for smugglers. Sweden has shut its doors, recently imposing border checks. And France declared a state of emergency after the Paris attacks, which amplified fears that terrorists may be entering with refugees, as two of the Paris attackers reportedly had. Many Germans share those fears, but elected officials in Berlin seem more concerned that all the other attackers evidently grew up in Europe and were radicalized in the ethnic ghettos that spring up when immigrants

LAURENCE CHAPERON

FOR THE STICKY

AND THE STINKY.

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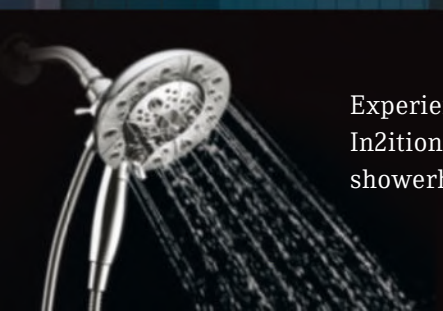

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are not integrated in society, a prevalent problem in Belgium, for example.

At the same time, Merkel's bluff confidence—"We can handle this!"—is running up against the exhaustion of the volunteers. Social-service centers in Berlin alone were receiving 500 to 600 people a day in late November. They were housed everywhere from school gymnasiums (displacing kids by day and adult leagues by night) to the old Stasi headquarters (where wiretap listening rooms turned out to serve wonderfully as bedrooms). "I think she said one sentence too much: 'Everybody is welcome,'" says Silvia Kostner, spokeswoman for the Berlin office of LaGeSo, the federal social-services agency, but speaking personally. "People took it as an invitation. It wasn't an invitation … They have to find a solution to reduce the flow."

Merkel is working on that, negotiating with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to shut off the faucet. Armed with €3 billion from the E.U. to help care for refugees on its side of the Aegean, Turkey on Nov. 30 made its first significant sweep of smugglers, sending 250 police to raid beaches facing Lesbos. Meanwhile, Germany struggles to hasten asylum decisions, certifying those fleeing war and sending home those fleeing poverty. Merkel speaks now of "legal migration." Rules. Germans still like those, and it's become clear why.

MOTHER OF REFUGEES

Merkel poses for selfies with migrants from Iraq and Syria outside a refugee camp in Berlin's Spandau district on Sept. 10

But the Chancellor is in an unfamiliar place—out front. For years she was accused of governing so effectively from the center that her coalition sucked all the oxygen out of German politics. Today there's so much oxygen that some fear combustion. Right-wing parties across Europe have found an updraft in what is being called Merkel's naiveté, as well as her (so far largely vain) call for other E.U. members to accept a share of asylum seekers. The conservative Law and Justice Party swept into power in neighboring Poland on Oct. 25, in an election dominated by the refugee crisis. "You cannot call it solidarity when some countries try to, in a way, export problems that they brought on themselves," said incoming Prime Minister Beata Szydlo. In France, polls showed that Marine Le Pen's nativist National Front would win a national election if one were held today. In the initial round of local elections held on Dec. 6, the party finished first in six of 13 regions.

Germany's right wing has surged as well, with thousands attending weekly anti-immigrant rallies in Dresden, the benighted city where television from the West did not reach. "What unites us," says Lutz Bachmann, co-founder of the movement, called Pegida, "is the feeling that the politicians are no longer paying attention to us."

Some analysts share that concern, arguing that by stigmatizing all right-wingers as neo-Nazis, German postwar politics offers no legitimate outlook for those who find no ear in center-right parties that, lately, are far more center than right. "There are a great many people who hold right-wing views but feel totally unrepresented in German politics," says Frank Richter, an adviser to the regional government of Saxony, whose capital is Dresden. "Grand coalitions by their nature create these conditions. Everyone is trying to cram into a tiny space in the political center, and no one is engaging with the people closer to the edges." Pegida is not a political party, but the right-wing Alternative for Germany is, and its support has grown since this summer. It could enter Parliament in 2017, the next national ballot.

Merkel has given no indication whether she will seek a fourth term. Her popularity is sharply down—polls showed uneasiness over Muslim immigrants even before the events of the summer, which her own Finance Minister, Wolfgang Schäuble, termed an "avalanche." The turmoil is most pronounced in the CDU's sister party in Bavaria, where most refugees arrive. The faction's male leader lectured Merkel from the podium on Nov. 20 as she stood with her eyes downcast.

Still, there's no competitor on the horizon, and Merkel has more than a year to restore the equilibrium to which Germans had grown accustomed. All she has to do is end the refugee crisis, persuade the rest of the E.U. to take a few hundred thousand Muslims amid galloping fears of terrorism, end the war in Syria and parry any unforeseen setbacks, like a scandal at Volkswagen, flagship of the nation's largest industrial sector. Along the way she has to convince Germans that what many call the ultimate rash move is, in fact, visionary. Merkel never claimed to have a vision, and in fact quoted Schmidt as saying anyone who did should have his eyes examined. But those who study her say it's been visible, if not always audible, in what one calls "her mumbled speeches."

"The heart and soul of Europe is tolerance," she said in one, years before the refugee crisis. "It has taken us centuries to understand this. We have persecuted and annihilated one another. We have laid

FABRIZIO BENSCH—REUTERS

THE LIVES OF OTHERS

A 2015 portrait of the archives of the Stasi, the East German secret police. As part of a legacy of reconciliation, researchers are sifting through the vast collection

our own country to waste … The worst period of hatred, devastation and destruction happened not even a generation ago. It was done in the name of my people."

Germany owns the Holocaust as no other nation owns its crimes. Berlin's historic center is stippled with memorials to the nation's victims. It makes for a variegated tourist experience in one of Europe's most vibrant and affordable cities. Here's the Reichstag, the seat of National Socialism, transformed by a glass dome into a Parliament synonymous with transparency. Here's a man changing out of a bear costume—a bear being the symbol of Berlin—outside the memorial to the slaughter of Gypsies. The memorial to the 6 million Jews exterminated by the Nazis takes up an entire city block, exceptional both as a commitment and an experience. Moving through the grid is not so much disorienting as unsettling. You see a person, and an instant later the person is gone.

Merkel's legacy—her bold, fraught, immensely empathetic act of leadership—challenges more than the comfort of European life. It also challenges the comfort of assumptions about any group, including, if it works out, Germans. And it's a legacy that flows not only from her childhood experience as a girl trapped behind a wall. It also follows from what she learned as an adult, applying her disciplined, methodical approach to what she calls "the things that matter to us most." The Chancellor of Germany put anti-Semitism under her microscope, followed prejudice to its roots and found fear. Not only of Jews but of any "other," including foreigners. Which takes in the whole world.

"Fear has never been a good adviser, neither in our personal lives nor in our society," Merkel told a middle-aged woman who rose from an audience on Sept. 3 to ask what the Chancellor intended to do to prevent "Islamization," with so many Muslims entering the country. "Cultures and societies that are shaped by fear," Merkel said, "will without doubt not get a grip on the future."

The ending has yet to be written. But that's the moral of the story. —*With additional reporting by* MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON

PHOTOGRAPH BY HARF ZIMMERMANN FOR TIME

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HOME BASE

Merkel on the floor of the German Parliament, located in the Reichstag. Her office window faces the building, which serves as a reminder of accountability

MARKUS SCHREIBER—AP

THE SHORT LIST | NO. 2 | THE TERRORIST

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi

THE HEAD OF ISIS EXPORTS EXTREME VIOLENCE AND RADICAL BELIEFS AROUND THE GLOBE

By Massimo Calabresi

ILLUSTRATION BY PIOTR LESNIAK FOR TIME

They rallied to his call:

the violent and the suicidal, the lawless and the fanatical, gathering in cyberspace from around the world to pledge allegiance to his self-proclaimed caliphate. Some acted in his name in the real world, killing hundreds of innocents at hotels, mosques and concert halls from Paris to the Sinai, Beirut to San Bernardino. A handful of adherents were close to him, like the woman who ran his sex-slave operation. Others were thousands of miles away yet under his command and control, like those behind the attacks in France on Nov. 13 that killed 130 people. Still others may have had no more connection to him than a declaration of allegiance on Facebook—like Tashfeen Malik, who posted right before she and her partner killed 14 people in Southern California on Dec. 2. He is Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the brooding muezzin of death who leads ISIS.

In 2015, al-Baghdadi, 44, transformed the breakaway al-Qaeda group from a battlefield force operating in the chaos of Syria and Iraq into a transnational terrorist franchise killing civilians in more than a dozen countries around the world. Orchestrating deadly attacks against far-flung targets—including sports stadiums, beach resorts and museums—ISIS has killed more than 1,200 civilian victims outside of Iraq and Syria this year while luring a steady stream of recruits to the so-called Islamic State.

His most immediate goal was the recruitment of fighters for his military operations in what was once the cradle of civilization. Each month al-Baghdadi's war machine chews through 1,000 fighters, 50 to 60 of them suicide bombers used for basic combat maneuvers. Most are foreign fighters, and as al-Baghdadi expands his ambitions, his need for them increases. Accepting pledges of fealty from forces as far away as Nigeria and Pakistan, he has established a total of nine putative ISIS provinces outside of Iraq and Syria since June 2014. U.S. officials believe his attacks abroad are another way for him to call to their death those followers desperate or deluded enough to kill themselves for him on the battlefield.

Like other magnetic extremists, al-Baghdadi has learned—through an up-and-down career marked by losses and victories in prison cells and palaces—to be a master opportunist. He did not create Middle Eastern anarchy or invent the Internet, but he has seized on them both for his purposes. Likewise, he leverages his own biography. A member of an Iraqi tribe that claims lineal descent from the Prophet Muhammad, al-Baghdadi turned an early affinity for Quranic recitation into a grandiose claim to be the caliph, or theocratic leader fit to rule an Islamic empire.

While his control of captured oil fields and profits from kidnapping and smuggling give ISIS considerable staying power, few experts believe that al-Baghdadi's radical ideology poses a strategic threat to the states of Europe and the U.S. But he has proved his ability to challenge accepted Western values in ways few expected a year ago. The ISIS attacks in Paris moved the Socialist government of France to declare, and then extend for three months, a state of emergency and propose changes to its constitution that would expand police powers. And a post-Paris backlash against Syrian and Iraqi refugees has particularly weakened support for the U.S.'s long-standing program to resettle displaced victims of war and conflict.

Along the way, al-Baghdadi has roused powerful enemies. Russia escalated its attacks against ISIS forces after the bombing of a St. Petersburg–bound jet on Oct. 31 that killed all 224 people on board. France responded to the Paris assault with air strikes on al-Baghdadi's would-be capital, the town of Raqqa in northern Syria. Germany and Britain, hesitant participants in the U.S.-led coalition fighting ISIS in Syria, have stepped up their involvement. And two years after President Barack Obama pledged not to put "boots on the ground" in Syria, the Pentagon announced in early December the deployment of 100 to 150 U.S. special forces to conduct raids against ISIS in Syria and Iraq. "Definitely, we want to eliminate him," says one senior Administration official of the man who would be caliph.

His transformative year began on Jan. 7, when the insouciant French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* tweeted an image of al-Baghdadi in his pulpit wishing everyone "good health." In an apparent coincidence, homegrown French Islamic militants tied to al-Qaeda attacked the paper almost as the tweet was posted, killing several of its leading editors and cartoonists. The following day, according to news reports, a close friend of the two *Hebdo* attackers, Amedy Coulibaly, received and deleted an email from Syria instructing him to "work alone" and "pick the easiest and most certain targets." Coulibaly shot a policewoman dead in a Paris suburb on Jan. 8, then killed four people at a kosher market on Jan. 9. Police later discovered Coulibaly's video pledge of allegiance to ISIS.

The rest of 2015 was a red tide of ISIS terrorism. In January, an ISIS-linked group attacked a hotel in Tripoli, Libya, favored by diplomats and businessmen. At least nine people were killed, including an American. In March, ISIS claimed responsibility for an attack on the national museum in Tunis that killed 22 people, mostly European tourists. In June, an attack at a Tunisian beach resort killed 38 people. Halfway through the year, ISIS had killed more than 450 civilians outside of Iraq and Syria.

Inside those collapsing countries, al-Baghdadi's fortunes waxed and waned as he fought other extremists, U.S.-backed forces and the regime of Syrian

BLOOD MONEY

To fund itself, ISIS pulls in an estimated $79 million a month. Here's how:

SOURCE: IHS INC.

dictator Bashar Assad, who has killed more civilians there than anyone else. In March and April, Iraqi forces drove ISIS out of the city of Tikrit amid U.S. claims to have reduced Iraqi territory under al-Baghdadi's control by as much as 25%. The following month, ISIS forces struck back, capturing the city of Ramadi and crushing U.S. hopes that Iraqi troops could defeat this enemy on their own. Later in May, ISIS seized the Syrian city of Palmyra, where al-Baghdadi's forces looted historic archaeological sites, then destroyed what was left.

When U.S. raiders killed a top ISIS logistics officer and captured his wife, known as Umm Sayyaf, officials got a grim look inside the life of the supposed holy man. During interrogation, Umm Sayyaf acknowledged that she ran the operation that turned captured women and girls into sex slaves for ISIS soldiers. She also revealed that American aid worker Kayla Mueller, who had been taken captive in Syria in August 2013, was al-Baghdadi's personal slave, whom he raped and tortured before her death in early 2015, according to Mueller's family members who were briefed by the FBI.

With the downing of a St. Petersburg–bound Metrojet flight over the Sinai peninsula—the deadliest ISIS attack on civilians abroad thus far—al-Baghdadi extended his terrorism into the skies. But it was the Paris attacks on Nov. 13 that ended lingering hopes that his violence would remain regional. Three suicide bombers targeted a soccer match attended by French President François Hollande; their largely thwarted attack was followed minutes later by mass shootings at several restaurants and the slaughter of 90 people at a concert in the Bataclan theater. A senior U.S. national security official says the entire operation was "organized by someone with close ties to the leadership of ISIS."

BORN INTO a religiously devout lower-middle-class Sunni Muslim family in Iraq in 1971, Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim al-Badri, who years later adopted the nom de guerre al-Baghdadi, was an unexceptional, shy child, according to recent biographies based on interviews with those who knew him. He never excelled at religious scholarship but was talented at the recitation of Quranic verse. In college and graduate school, he studied the style and technique of reciting the Quran, and he wrote a master's thesis on a medieval commentary on the subject.

The young man befriended members of the Muslim Brotherhood, a region-wide dissident group of Sunni believers that was forged in the wake of World War I and was dedicated to the eventual overthrow of secular regimes in the Middle East. Widely suppressed across the region, the Brotherhood was al-Baghdadi's route to radicalism: he joined one of its more extreme wings and helped in its organization, according to several of his biographers. He taught recitation and chanted the calls to prayer in his local Baghdad neighborhood, scolding dancers for being irreligious.

Al-Baghdadi's finishing school in radicalism was unwittingly provided by the U.S. In February 2004, after the invasion of Iraq, he was visiting a friend in Fallujah when U.S. Army intelligence officers burst in and arrested them both. Al-Baghdadi was taken to the notorious prison at Camp Bucca, which inadvertently came to serve as an incubator for Sunni jihadism, according to former camp officials. There he was a skilled networker, courting radical factions and building a reputation as a religious leader based on his Islamic studies.

These talents didn't register on his captors, though, who judged al-Baghdadi to be a low-risk prisoner. Released at the end of 2004, he returned to the Iraqi capital, where he pursued a doctorate and joined a series of jihadi groups invigorated by the fall of Saddam Hussein and the U.S. occupation. In early 2006, he found his ultimate home in the Iraqi al-Qaeda offshoot led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a former violent criminal from Jordan whom U.S. forces killed that June. Al-Baghdadi's nominal religious qualifications and rigid dogmatism carried him quickly through the ranks, and in May 2010, after the U.S. killed the only two men above him, he emerged as the emir.

And the world had finally taken notice. Along with his ambitious territorial goals in the Middle East, al-Baghdadi has elaborated an apocalyptic vision of a final battle between the forces of radical Islam and the West. In a Ramadan sermon delivered in mid-2014, he declared slavery to be the universal human condition: Muslim believers are indentured to Allah, while nonbelievers are the rightful property of Muslims. He also said the time of death for each man and woman is preordained, implying that all killings must be the will of Allah. This teaching paved the way for his chief spokesman to deliver the following message to ISIS supporters everywhere a few months later: "If you can kill a disbelieving American or European," the spokesman said, "kill the disbeliever whether he is civilian or military."

As Muslims worldwide reject al-Baghdadi's call to death, Obama and other world leaders have promised to attack ISIS territory more aggressively from the air and on the ground. But some experts fear that an escalated response may cause al-Baghdadi to accelerate his attacks. "As we see them further diminished in Iraq and Syria, how much are they going to strike out?" asks the senior U.S. national security official. Whatever he does in the coming months and years, al-Baghdadi has made himself the new face of terrorism and target No. 1 in the long struggle to defend humane values. "He has proven to be a pretty effective leader in terms of this overall global jihad," says the senior Administration official. And that means "there is a significant effort to find him." ◻

POWERFUL ENEMIES

THE U.S.
Washington has conducted 6,692 strikes in Iraq and Syria and will deploy 100 to 150 special forces for raids.

THE KURDS
Kurdish militias, combining self-defense and hopes for a homeland, have been effective on the ground.

FRANCE
The country began air strikes in Syria in September and tripled its fighter jets after the Paris attacks.

RUSSIA
Moscow had focused most of its attacks on Syrian rebels, but it redoubled its air strikes against ISIS after the downing of its passenger jet.

IRAN
Its top general went to Iraq in 2014 to organize ground troops. Iranian-funded Shi'ite militias have helped reclaim territory.

PREVIOUS PAGES: PHOTO REFERENCE: AP

THE SHORT LIST | NO. 3 | THE FIREBRAND

Donald Trump

HE BLEW OPEN THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY—AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

By Michael Scherer

PHOTOGRAPH BY BROOKS KRAFT

While a fearful nation watched

the terrorists attack again, striking the cafés of Paris and the conference rooms of San Bernardino, Calif., Donald J. Trump looked out from his golden Manhattan tower, divining as he does the unseized opportunity before him. Toughness was his brand, and in a tumultuous political season, transgression his method. He had already promised once again to waterboard terrorist suspects and "more than that," despite international treaties against torture. He had even vowed not only to "bomb the sh-t" out of the Islamic State fighters in Syria but also to "take out their families"—another likely war crime—and steal the oil from their land and sell it through American companies.

Then in early December he made his next move, an extraordinary call to bar all Muslims from entering the U.S., including tourists and business travelers, a direct challenge to the nation's constitutional right to the free exercise of religion. "I wrote something today that I think is very, very salient, very important and probably not politically correct," he said, while laying out his plan in South Carolina before cheering throngs. "But I don't care."

In times of trial and desperation, when institutions fail, insecurity mounts and need arises, even the most enlightened democratic states can turn inward and break against themselves. "It is impossible to read the history of the petty republics of Greece and Italy without feeling sensations of horror and disgust at the distractions with which they were continually agitated," wrote Alexander Hamilton in "Federalist No. 9," published in 1787. James Madison warned his nascent nation of "the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority."

To remedy this, America's founders forged a union with safeguards: due process of law, inalienable individual rights and a byzantine electoral system that intentionally slowed popular fury and change. Yet still the country has been tested over the centuries by demagogues and bigots, leaders who broke social and political norms, targeted enemies within and rallied the nation against the governing class. President Obama carpeted the Oval Office with a quote from Martin Luther King Jr.: "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice." Such sentiments have a demonstrated history of being cast aside in anxious times.

Back in the 1930s, disruptive technological change and economic depression gave rise to Louisiana's Huey Long, who ruled more like a dictator than a

PREVIOUS PAGES: CORBIS

CAMPAIGN CARNIVAL

A Trump rally in Sarasota, Fla., on Nov. 28. Defying all expectations, Trump has dominated the Republican nomination contest

PHOTOGRAPH BY LANDON NORDEMAN FOR TIME

governor, disregarding the law as he denounced the billionaire robber barons and called for radical wealth redistribution. He was followed in the 1950s by Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy, who channeled foreign policy fears into spurious attacks against ideas and the people who held them. Alabama governor George Wallace arrived in the 1960s, riding fears of national decline and civil rights through presidential campaigns in which he promised to "shake the eyeteeth of national politicians in both parties." Each was denounced, like Trump, as a leader who appealed improperly to emotion and prejudice to gain power. Each was a master of the popular spectacle. Each terrified some and delighted others, testing the nation's very identity.

PEOPLE POWER

Trump has drawn raucous crowds to his freewheeling campaign rallies

EVERYTHING ABOUT TRUMP is a challenge, a test—even for the thousands of people who attend his rallies and cheer his outrages. If any other Republican candidate piped Luciano Pavarotti into his campaign events in the Deep South, people would talk. But for Trump, it was part of a piece. "You hear him hit that high note? There is no one like that," he says one day in late November of the late tenor, whom he considered a friend. Trump is standing backstage in Birmingham, Ala., before a rally that packs about 9,000 into a room twice the size of a football field on the first day of the regular deer-hunting season. "I change the music around. I pick it all," he continues. "Pavarotti, they love."

They certainly love something. For two hours, Trump supporters have been shouting their praise over the soundtrack, hailing his tell-it-like-it-is toughness while confessing the frustrations and fears that grip them—rising health costs, flat wages, bankrupt political leadership, threats both foreign and domestic. Most also mention Trump's defiance, that lack of concern for what others have said is acceptable. "He doesn't care who he pisses off," one supporter explains. "He says what everyone wants to say but are afraid to say," says another.

Trump can feel it too, having just flown in from his Palm Beach estate, which aides have already started calling the Winter White House. The Republican nomination, by all rights, is within his grasp, which means the presidency as well, which will bring, he promises, a new national Valhalla, a chance to "Make America Great Again." These are glory days for a man who has never tired of self-glorification. For five months he has been atop the

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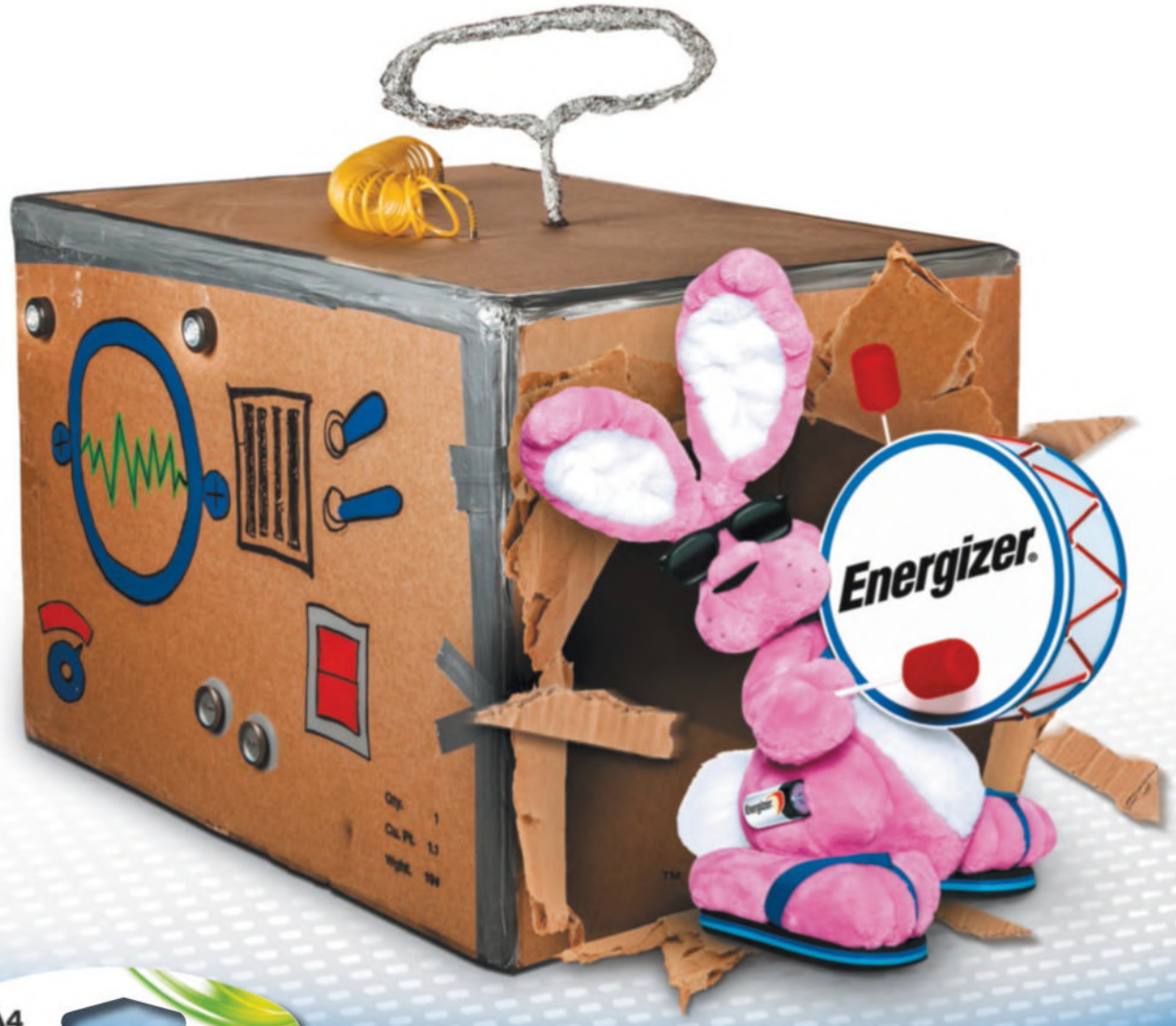

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Republican polls ("by a lot"), dominant in the press coverage ("big league"), taunting the political powers with attitude, singular authenticity and aggression. "We are hotter now than we ever were," he says.

On the other side of the curtain, the crowd starts singing along to the na-na-nas of "Hey Jude." He will take the stage soon, so Trump quickly tries to explain his most important talent, the thing responsible for bringing him here now. His father used to claim it had to do with real estate—"My boy has the greatest sense of location," Fred said—but Trump now understands it's something more profound.

"I have a sense of people," he says. "I understand people. I've made a lot of money because of people, because deals aren't anything other than people, O.K.?" That sixth sense, he continues, is what led him to focus hard, right from the very start, on illegal immigration, proposing a 2,000-mile border wall and the forcible deportation of 11 million people. "I just felt it," he says. "I felt it like I do deals." The terrorist attacks triggered the same instinctual response. "Immigration has boiled over into Syria," he says, in a telling logical connection.

The sound system switches to Lynyrd Skynyrd's "Sweet Home Alabama," a Southern-pride anthem, with its ambiguous homage to the segregationist Wallace. There is a mike offstage, as there is before a wrestling match. "Ladies and gentlemen, the next President of the United States, Donald J. Trump," blares the announcer. There is din, bedlam, then Trump.

If by chance you have not given over more than an hour this year to watch one of Trump's raucous and rambling rallies, here is what you missed: High political theater. Subversive irony. Triumphant bravado. Stand-up improv. And a meanness this country has not seen from a politician for generations. "This time, it's not about nice," Trump likes to say. "We have to be mean now."

When the Skynyrd fades, Trump starts in. "We're going to have a lot of fun," he says. By that he means the crowd is with him tonight, in a world he will always define as binary: winners or losers, good or bad, strong or weak, smart or stupid. He throws schoolyard insults at his rivals—"low energy" Jeb Bush, "pathological" Ben Carson, "lightweight" Marco Rubio. He orders jeers for the journalists on the press risers. "Look at those bloodsuckers back there," he calls, pointing. "Be ashamed of yourselves." He describes in detail vicious crimes allegedly committed by undocumented Mexican migrants.

He tells folks to keep an eye on their neighbors: "When you see certain people walking in and out all day carrying things, inform your local police." He remembers back to the World Trade Center collapse on Sept. 11, 2001. "I watched in Jersey City where thousands and thousands of people were cheering as that building was coming down," he says. "So something is going on."

That never happened. There is no news report or video footage of thousands of Muslims cheering the attacks. But the controversy is his oxygen. As with his promise to have a religious test for entry into the nation, this libelous charge against an entire city, for which Trump will never apologize, allows him to dominate another two weeks of the presidential-campaign news cycle, pushing him up in the polls once again. That is how Trump has been doing it. He has a sense for people.

Something else happens while he stands onstage. Mercutio Southall, a well-known Birmingham civil rights activist, begins shouting in protest from the middle of the crowd. This happens a lot at Trump rallies, with troubling effects. At a September event on Capitol Hill, a young Latino protester gets spit on and has her hair pulled by an elderly man trying to shut her up. In Miami in November, the crowd kicks and punches at immigration activists, dragging them from the room. This time Trump notices the disturbance and demands a response. "Get him the hell out of here. Get him out of here," he commands. "Get out."

Southall is a large black man shouting in an almost entirely white crowd in a 73% black city famous for some of the most brutal racial clashes of the 1960s. Soon, regular Trump supporters are punching and kicking at him. He falls to the floor, swings back and is choked. A video later shows a blond, middle-aged woman walk up, kick him in the stomach and back away, even as he is held by a local plainclothes police officer. While on the floor, Southall says he heard racial epithets directed at him. The next day, Trump is asked about the fight. "Maybe he should have been roughed up," the U.S. presidential candidate responds.

Trump's dark accomplishment is all the more dramatic because he did it alone, without outside funding or external advice, private pollsters or written speeches. He now claims the support of about 30% of Republican-leaning voters, who make up about 42% of the nation's electorate. That number may grow or fade, but his success has already shifted the country, making possible ideas once seen as out of bounds by both the established press and elected officials. His proposal to ban Muslims from the country was condemned with near unanimity, by House Speaker Paul Ryan, former Vice President Dick Cheney and most of his 2016 GOP rivals.

Trump delighted in crossing such lines. Before cheering crowds, he praised the extrajudicial punishment of Sergeant Bowe Bergdahl, who deserted his Afghan post and was captured by the Taliban. "They beat the crap out of him, which is fine," Trump said. Trump even retweeted a racist image filled with statistics that falsely claimed that 81% of white murders in America were committed by blacks. (In fact,

TRUMP, NOT IN HIS OWN WORDS

'It's clear we may have overestimated his anger-management skills.'
MEGYN KELLY, FOX NEWS ANCHOR, OCT. 13

'He's a master brander, and he is the most interesting character out there.'
FORMER PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON, OCT. 6

'Here all you have to do is vote. Here I don't know why anybody wouldn't vote for somebody with that message.'
CARL ICAHN, INVESTOR, SEPT. 30

'He's all over the map, misinformed at best and preying on people's fears at worst.'
JEB BUSH, GOP PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, NOV. 29

'I would've enjoyed campaigning against Trump. That would have been fun.'
PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA, NOV. 17

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whites committed 82% of white murders in 2014.) True to form, he refused to apologize or correct the error. "There's a big difference between a tweet and a retweet," Trump told TIME afterward. "It's for other people. Let them find out if it's correct or not." His poll numbers continued to climb.

In a party once known for projecting strength, he cowed all comers and gave millions of Americans new hope that their lingering sense of decline and injustice might end. "You have politicians who just sit around and do politics," explained Michael Williams, a 44-year-old heating and ventilation repairman with six kids, who hasn't voted since 1992 but made his way to a Trump rally in South Carolina in November. "He will say what needs to be said. Sometimes it ain't pretty, but the truth ain't pretty sometimes."

TRUMP'S RISE TO THE TOP OF REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL POLLS

4%
9th place
JUNE 16
ANNOUNCES BID

6%
7th place
JULY 1

21%
1st place
AUG. 1

27%
1st place
SEPT. 1

23%
1st place
OCT. 1

27%
1st place
NOV. 1

29%
1st place
DEC. 8

SOURCE: REAL CLEAR POLITICS

THREE DAYS AFTER the Birmingham rally, Trump invited TIME back to his Fifth Avenue office, high above Manhattan's holiday-shopping celebrations. "I think there is only one person you can pick," he said of the upcoming TIME Person of the Year issue. "It's got to be Trump."

For the next 40 minutes, he answered questions in his particular way, full of digressions, rehashed monologues and boasts. His outrage at the state of the world showed no sign of abating. "They have taken over Paris and destroyed it," he said at one point about the Muslim immigrants of Europe. "Wait until you see what happens to Germany."

On the details of his most controversial policy proposals, however, he remained vague. At a recent televised debate, he cited a 1954 mass-deportation program, called Operation Wetback, as proof that his own immigration plan would work. The program expelled about 1 million people by sending paramilitary federal agents to round up thousands in public squares and at restaurants and other locales, place them on buses, trains and boats with minimal due process and ship them south. Families got separated, U.S. citizens were accidentally forced from their country, and some died en route. "Most of the people left because they saw what was going on," said Trump, who knows the history. "It was a very effective plan, in terms of illegal immigration."

But that doesn't mean he would repeat the program in full. "I'm not saying it's a model because there are things I didn't like about the way they did it," he said. What his exact plans are, however, remain a mystery. He will not say, beyond promising they will be "humane." He also declined to say whether he would have opposed the forced internment of Americans with Japanese ancestry during the Second World War, an event "caused by racial prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership," according to a reparations law signed by Ronald Reagan in 1988. "I would have had to be there at the time to give you a proper answer," he said. "It's tough. But you know war is tough. And winning is tough. We don't win anymore."

Seventy-two percent of U.S. Latinos, one of the fastest-growing voting demographics, view him unfavorably, compared with only 11% who view him favorably, according to an October poll by the Associated Press. Trump doesn't believe such polls, saying they are corrupted by undocumented respondents who claim otherwise. "If they are legally here, I'm doing quite well," he said. He also confessed a new plan to gain back support after he secures the GOP nomination. "If I win, one of my first pictures is going to be to get all my Hispanic employees and take a picture in some area. People will be amazed. I have thousands," he said. "They love me. I take great care of them."

A few months ago, Latino protesters dressed in mock Ku Klux Klan paraphernalia appeared outside Trump's offices with a sign that parodied his campaign slogan: MAKE AMERICA RACIST AGAIN. A television crew covering the protest captured video of Trump's chief of security, Keith Schiller, grabbing the sign, which was held on the far side of the sidewalk across from Trump's property. As Schiller started walking into the building, a protester, Efrain Galicia, grasped at Schiller's back. He wheeled around and punched Galicia in the head. The protesters sued, and won a court injunction, over the opposition of Trump's lawyers, prohibiting any future interference with protests outside Trump's offices. Trump does not apologize for what happened. "Well, these guys were tough guys outside," Trump said of the protesters. "They had a lot of problems."

The incident, combined with the clashes at his rallies, raises questions about how a President Trump would handle public criticism in office. Disruptive protests of candidates are a feature of our current system, and for decades candidates and elected officials have simply waited them out. Asked if he questions the right to protest, he answered succinctly, "No, not at all. I have protests." Asked if he could give assurances that even reporters he despised would keep their credentials for the White House briefing room, he said, "Oh yeah, I would do that. It doesn't mean I would be nice to them. I tend to do what I do. If people aren't treating me right, I don't treat them right."

But there is a larger question of how Trump's tough rhetoric and policies might change the country, and the world, in ways he does not directly control. In late August, after a Red Sox game, two brothers from South Boston allegedly awoke a sleeping 58-year-old Latino homeless man by urinating on his head. They hit him with their fists and a metal pipe. Police say one of the brothers later explained his actions by saying, "Donald Trump was right. All these illegals need to be deported."

Trump eventually tweeted a condemnation, after a reporter questioned him about his silence. "We need energy and passion, but we must treat each

other with respect," he wrote. "I would never condone violence." But when asked months later if he worried that his continued aggressive rhetoric might lead to innocent people getting hurt or other human suffering, he seemed unmoved by the danger and unhappy with what he called a "very unfair" question.

"Are you ready?" he asked brusquely, a phrase he often uses to preface an impolitic remark. "People are getting hurt. People are being decimated by illegal immigrants. The crime is unbelievable." There is no conclusive evidence that undocumented immigrants are more likely to commit violence than anyone else, a fact that Trump does not dispute. A September study by the National Academy of Sciences found that neighborhoods with greater immigrant concentrations generally have much lower rates of crime and violence. Foreign-born men ages 18 to 39 are incarcerated at one-fourth the rate of their native-born peers. "People are getting hurt far greater than something I am going to say," Trump continued. "People are getting hurt by our stupidity."

It seemed an important point of clarification, after months of escalating calls for confrontation. The Trump worldview, the us-against-them bravado that has mobilized a sizable share of the nation, has

RELENTLESS CHEERLEADER

Trump brags about himself, dismisses his nomination rivals and talks tough about immigration and trade

at its core a zero-sum equation. If the only way to alleviate national suffering is to impose it elsewhere—even if the people who must pay reside among us—then that is the price that he believes must be paid. The families will be bombed. The Muslims banned. The oil taken. The trade relationships upended. The protesters challenged. The migrants deported. The suspects tortured. "You know what, darling? You're not going to be scared anymore," Trump told an adolescent girl in North Carolina in December. "They're going to be scared. You're not going to be scared."

This is the grim bet of Donald J. Trump. He knows how to read people, and he believes his nation is ready for a wartime consigliere, a tough guy for a scary time. He makes no apologies, even when he is wrong or people get pummeled. His words are weapons, slicing through the national consciousness. "You know what? Maybe it's good, maybe it's not," he allowed, as he sat in his tower, among the trophies of his glorious life. "And if it's not, that's all right. They'll get somebody else, and you know what's going to happen? Our country is going to go to hell."

That's the choice that Trump offers. It's now up to the American people to decide if they want to make it. □

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THE SHORT LIST | NO. 4 | THE ACTIVISTS

Black Lives Matter

A NEW CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS TURNING A PROTEST CRY INTO A POLITICAL FORCE

By Alex Altman

PHOTOGRAPH BY DEVIN ALLEN

Sometimes the toughest tests

for a public uprising take place in private. The Black Lives Matter movement faced one such moment in October, inside a turreted building of pale stone planted on the site of the old Pennsylvania Avenue slave market, just blocks from the White House. Eleven young activists filed into a conference room, snapping selfies as they waited for one of the most powerful women in America. It takes clout to finagle a meeting with Hillary Clinton—and courage to do what came next.

All summer, Black Lives Matter protesters had disrupted campaign events and forced politicians to grapple with radioactive questions of race and justice. Clinton wanted to clear the air. But it was her guests who grabbed control. For 90 minutes, they peppered her with demands and pushed for sweeping investments in black communities. When the Democratic front runner said she couldn't muscle race-based legislation through Congress, they accused her of exhibiting white privilege. Alwiyah Shariff, an organizer with the Ohio Student Association, asked how Clinton could be trusted to keep a promise to close private prisons while collecting campaign contributions from the industry. Flashes of irritation flickered across the former Secretary of State's face. "There was fire in her eyes," recalls Aurielle Marie, 21, an activist from Atlanta.

CAMPUS VICTORY
Protesters at the University of Missouri react to the Nov. 9 resignation of system president Tim Wolfe, which was spurred by Black Lives Matter demonstrations

The confrontation turned out to be a catalyst. At a Democratic debate a few days later, Clinton denounced mass incarceration, called for body cameras on every cop and proposed a "new New Deal" for communities of color. "Exactly the things we're advocating," says Sam Sinyangwe, a 25-year-old activist and data scientist who was present at the meeting. Within weeks, Clinton rolled out a criminal-justice platform ripped from the activists' playbook, including plans to curb police militarization and strengthen federal investigations in cases of alleged misconduct. Her campaign also announced that she would refuse donations from private-prison lobbyists.

In 2015, Black Lives Matter blossomed from a protest cry into a genuine political force. Groups that embraced the slogan hounded police chiefs from their jobs, won landmark prosecutions and turned college campuses into cauldrons of social ferment. At the University of Missouri, a hunger strike incited a boycott by the football team that drove the president out of office.

Along the way, an organic uprising morphed into organized blocs with specific demands. Activists arranged national conferences so local groups could connect and swap strategies. To skirt suspected surveillance by authorities, they learned to encrypt communication with smartphone apps like Signal and anonymized browsers like Tor. A movement rooted in the rejection of police violence diversified, launching campaigns to combat a broad sweep of perceived injustices, from gender inequality to the minimum wage to housing and education policy. The year 2014 was about "connecting the dots for people and weaving a broader story about systemic injustice so the masses could understand life as a black person in America," says Brittany Packnett, a 31-year-old education executive from St. Louis whose role protesting the fatal shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., earned her a spot on President Obama's police-reform task force. "In 2015, we know we can both tell the story and change the story."

BLACK LIVES MATTER began almost by accident. On July 13, 2013, George Zimmerman was acquitted in the killing of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teenager shot during a struggle in a gated Florida suburb. Alicia Garza, a workers'-rights activist, was nursing a drink at an Oakland, Calif., cocktail bar when the verdict came down. She dashed off a missive on Facebook, capped by a stirring sentiment: "Black people. I love you. I love us. Our lives matter." Her friend Patrisse Cullors, a fellow California activist, was the one who added the hashtag.

Even the people who coined the phrase didn't sense its force right away. Melina Abdullah, a California State University, Los Angeles professor and leader of a local Black Lives Matter chapter, recalls a meeting two days after Zimmerman's acquittal at Cullors' place in St. Elmo Village, a collective for black artists. Protests to memorialize Martin were popping up across the country, and the activists made banners inscribed with #J4TMLA (JUSTICE FOR TRAYVON MARTIN L.A.). Underneath, as if an afterthought, they scrawled #BLACKLIVESMATTER in tiny letters.

The Black Lives Matter network, founded by Garza, Cullors and New York–based immigration activist Opal Tometi, now counts nearly 30 official chapters, including an outpost in Canada. There is no legal entity, no 501(c)(3). Getting chartered simply

DANIEL BRENNER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

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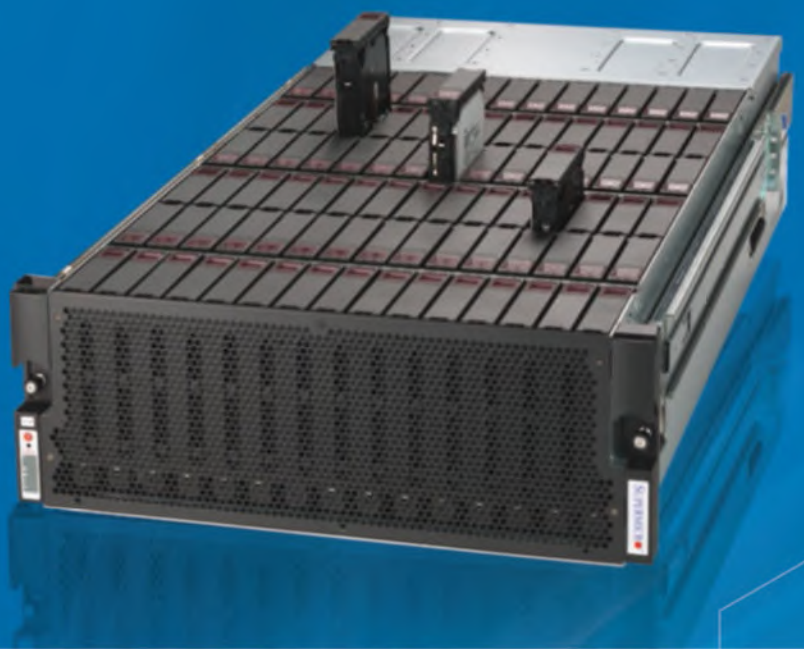

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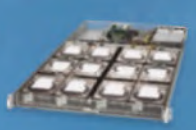

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requires a promise to uphold certain principles. The movement is also made up of countless other protest groups that emerged from the streets of Ferguson, with names like We the Protesters and Hands Up United. The prevalence of the Black Lives Matter hashtag prompted media outlets to seize the phrase as shorthand for the struggle writ large. The new civil rights movement had its rallying cry.

No matter their ideological differences, grassroots uprisings tend to follow patterns. Like the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter is anchored in the physical occupation of public space and amplified by social media. Each uprising was decentralized by design; insurrections against the misuse of power are leery of vesting too much of it in one place. But there are specific reasons Black Lives Matter has flourished where Occupy fizzled.

One is the way it has weaponized protest. Activists strategically shut down Chicago's Magnificent Mile on Black Friday and blocked traffic along Washington's I-395 on one of the busiest travel days of the year. The demonstrations were chosen to maximize impact: causing discomfort is designed to make society feel the pain and frustration of living as a black person in America.

Then there's the phrase itself. As a slogan, "Black Lives Matter" is a piece of linguistic jujitsu, vague enough to seem inclusive yet charged enough to sow conflict. Even members of the movement squabbled over its meaning at first. In the wake of Michael Brown's death, some activists identified their mission as a battle to stop police violence, while others argued that that definition was too narrow. As the movement began to branch out from purely honoring the victims of police brutality to raising awareness about perceived injustice in all sorts of social systems, the name attracted new groups of allies. "A single understanding of the movement," says St. Louis University law professor Justin Hansford, another of its local leaders, "would ultimately exclude so many people."

The loose structure, as a confederation of local groups, empowers each one to set its own agenda. The Chicago chapter, for example, had a hand in the protests that ousted police superintendent Garry McCarthy in late November after video footage apparently revealed that the department had mischaracterized the events surrounding the shooting death of teenager Laquan McDonald. Windy City activists have also run campaigns against school closures, says Chicago organizer Aislinn Sol, as well as crusades to win reparations for victims of police torture. A prominent group of leaders launched a project called Campaign Zero, which focuses on shaping policy changes to police practices, as well as an offshoot that studies how police unions stifle efforts to hold cops accountable in cases of alleged misconduct. To gather raw data, DeRay Mckesson, a Campaign Zero co-founder and perhaps the movement's most prominent activist, filed Freedom of Information Act requests in the nation's 100 largest cities.

In places like the Bay Area, Black Lives Matter is part of the Fight for 15, a campaign to hike the minimum wage to $15 per hour. New York activists launched a Black Lives Matter super PAC. A group in Washington focuses on housing and gentrification. "It's a national movement with very local goals," says Erika Totten, 33, a former English teacher from Alexandria, Va. "It looks different in every city."

TAMI CHAPPELL—REUTERS

A DISRUPTIVE FORCE ***Black Lives Matter protesters interrupt a Clinton campaign event at an Atlanta college on Oct. 30***

THE DIVERSE AGENDA is a reflection of its leadership. Black Lives Matter has a large number of influential LGBT activists. They and others have worked to make equality one of the movement's hallmarks. In August, Black Lives Matter organized rallies across the country to spotlight the murders of black transgender women. It's common to hear activists use the prefix *cis*—as in cisgender, which refers to anyone who's not trans—in sentences studded with terms like *intersectional* and *microaggression*.

The emphasis on gender, identity and social inequality helps explain why Black Lives Matter's agendas are spreading to college campuses. Back in March an anonymous user posted a YouTube clip that captured members of the University of Oklahoma's Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity singing a racist chant about barring black members. When it was dismissed as an isolated incident, activists created the hashtag #notjustSAE and encouraged students everywhere to share similar stories. Social media fueled protests again a few months later, when the violent arrest of Martese Johnson, a black University of Virginia honor student, was captured in another video clip that went viral.

The campus movement peaked in November at the University of Missouri, where a wave of protests launched by a group called Concerned Student 1950—after the year the school first admitted African Americans—swept out both the system president and the chancellor of its flagship campus. A few weeks earlier, a group of black students had decided to disrupt the school's homecoming parade by standing in its path and bellowing chants through a

Sir Martin Sorrell. CEO of WPP and Wall Street Journal reader.

Photography by Craig LaCourt

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megaphone. During the ensuing fracas, a car carrying the system president, Tim Wolfe, allegedly nudged a graduate student named Jonathan Butler. Soon Butler launched a hunger strike, demanding that Wolfe resign for failing to address allegations of racism on campus. On Nov. 7, members of the football team announced that they would boycott team activities until Wolfe was gone. Within two days he was.

A group called the Black Liberation Collective helped students at other schools make demands of their own. More than 70 colleges joined the protests, which became known as the Student Blackouts. "It didn't come out of thin air," explains Zellie Imani, an activist and math teacher from Paterson, N.J., who helped convene conference calls and distribute templates so that student groups had the tools to petition administrators. "Everything that happened was very coordinated and organized."

The protests racked up concessions at campuses across the country. Amid rolling sit-ins, Brandeis College administrators agreed to demands like increasing the recruitment of students of color. At Towson University, near Baltimore, demonstrators won new courses on race relations and tenure-track positions earmarked for black professors. Georgetown University agreed to rename two buildings named for former school presidents who sold slaves. Pushed by protesters, Princeton is weighing whether to strip the name of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, one of its most famous alums, from its prestigious public-policy school because of Wilson's racist views.

ANDREW BURTON—GETTY IMAGES

A MOVEMENT'S MARCH
Demonstrators celebrate in Baltimore on May 1 after police officers were charged in connection with the death of Freddie Gray, who died in custody

SUCCESS HAS CREATED a new set of challenges and charges. Wesleyan University's student government slashed funding for the school newspaper after it published a column critical of Black Lives Matter. At Smith College, a group associated with Black Lives Matter barred members of the media from attending a protest unless they pledged solidarity. Activists at Amherst College unsuccessfully pressed the school's president to punish students who plastered ALL LIVES MATTER posters around campus. Free speech has sometimes seemed like a casualty in the battle for social justice.

Critics have had other complaints. Republican presidential candidates said the movement spurs racial division, if not sheer lawlessness. New Jersey Governor Chris Christie told crowds that the movement's antipolice rhetoric has put lives at risk. "They are calling for the murder of police officers," Christie incorrectly claimed. Even FBI Director James Comey gave credence to the idea that heightened scrutiny of police, driven by street demonstrations, might be partly responsible for the spike in violent crime in some cities. "I do have a strong sense that some part of the explanation is a chill wind blowing through American law enforcement," Comey said in October. Black Lives Matter supporters dispute this theory, which proponents have dubbed the "Ferguson effect."

Opening the raw wounds of race has not made the protesters popular. Nearly 60% of respondents in a September PBS/Marist poll said race relations had gotten worse, not better, over the past year. But there's little sign such criticism will slow the movement's march. Clinton's overtures to Black Lives Matter have not won her a warmer reception; she was interrupted by Atlanta activists for 30 minutes during the Oct. 30 campaign event where she unveiled her criminal-justice platform. Despite its tactics of disruption (or perhaps because of it), Black Lives Matter is winning ever more access to candidates. The Democratic National Committee, which passed a resolution declaring its support for the movement, has invited activists to organize a presidential town hall as the race ramps up next year.

Its perseverance this fall is a sign of the future. In mid-November demonstrators began gathering outside a Minneapolis police precinct to protest the shooting death of 24-year-old Jamar Clark. The city was a tinderbox, and Nekima Levy Pounds, president of the NAACP's Minneapolis chapter, worried about a spark. "We're one incident away from becoming the next Ferguson," Pounds told officials. A few days before Thanksgiving, alleged white supremacists were charged with spraying bullets into a crowd of demonstrators, injuring five.

But peace reigned. The throngs reassembled as they had done day after day since Clark's death. Amid the bitter cold, the makeshift encampment became a kind of community, and each of the protesters found a role: bringing bread, sweeping the streets, stoking the fire pits. They held a concert and cooked a Thanksgiving dinner.

After 18 days of round-the-clock protests, Minneapolis officials dismantled the encampment around 4 a.m. on Dec. 3. A crowd marched down to city hall. There they flooded the rotunda, filling the halls of power with the sounds of protest, as they promised to keep showing up, day after day, until they felt justice was done. —*With reporting by* MAYA RHODAN *and* SAM FRIZELL ◻

THE SHORT LIST | NO. 5 | THE DEALMAKER

Hassan Rouhani

IRAN'S PRESIDENT IS BATTLING HARD-LINERS IN AN EFFORT TO END HIS COUNTRY'S ISOLATION

By Joe Klein

PHOTOGRAPH BY BEHROUZ MEHRI

It is not easy to be a moderate

politician in Iran. Every day is a somersault through flaming rhetorical hoops. Here, for example, is Iran's President Hassan Rouhani, responding in November to a question from an Italian newspaper about the possibility of establishing formal diplomatic relations with the U.S.: "One day these embassies will reopen, but what counts is behavior, and the Americans hold the key to this," he said. "If they modify their policies, correct errors committed in these 37 years and apologize to the Iranian people, the situation will change and good things can happen."

This is what passes for a wildly pro-American statement in Iran these days, even though many Americans will hear only the laundry list of conditions the U.S. would have to meet to deserve the recognition of the Islamic Republic. But still: one might even call this statement courageous—it's one of a series Rouhani made in October and November directly challenging the power and worldview of Iran's hard-line regime. This sort of public behavior is unprecedented; the last reform President of Iran, Mohammed Khatami, who left office in 2005, wilted in the face of pressure from the hard-liners. He never took them on publicly.

Rouhani is not exactly a counterrevolutionary; he is a long-standing member of Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei's inner circle. But he has emerged this year as a historic figure, perhaps the harbinger of a new political calculus within Iran—a significant step toward normalization, both within the country and in its dealings with the rest of the world.

The idea that "good things can happen" between the U.S. and Iran has been anathema to the religious and military leadership of the Islamic Republic since the Shah was deposed in 1979. The U.S. embassy in Tehran was the site of the infamous hostage siege of 1979–81, for which—speaking of grievances—Iran never apologized. The building was later reopened as a museum of the Great Satan (or, more familiarly, "the Den of Thieves"), replete with official graffiti, some hilarious, like this one: ON THE DAY THE GREAT SATAN PRAISES US, WE SHALL MOURN.

Praise from the Great Satan has long been an unstated fear of Khamenei and his religious military, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC). Khamenei's problem is that revolutionary fervor fades; it's difficult to sustain fanaticism for decades and even more difficult to rationalize oppression. A mortal enemy was needed to maintain the pretense that Iran was under siege, about to be overtaken by the same clandestine Western forces that overthrew the elected government of Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953. But the threat came to seem threadbare over time, as satellite dishes sprouted on the rooftops of Tehran and throughout the countryside. The idea of a Great Satan seemed as plausible as the Great Pumpkin to a young generation of Iranians, perhaps the most sophisticated people in the Middle East outside of Israel, who gorge on Adele and *The Walking Dead* and *Star Wars*. The Islamic revolution has slowly been corroded by the information revolution—and it has been suffocated by intense economic sanctions over the country's nuclear program, imposed not just by the Great Satan but also by countries traditionally friendly to Iran, like Russia and China. The Iranian public's impatience with this state of affairs was made apparent in the presidential election of 2013, when Rouhani—the most moderate of a handpicked field of candidates—won in a landslide.

Rouhani's victory forced the Supreme Leader to make a huge concession, to agree, finally, to negotiations with the international community over Iran's nuclear program, a tacit acknowledgment that Iran had violated the spirit of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which it signed in 1968. Rouhani was allowed to proceed with the talks because he was considered reliable. He was close to Khamenei, a lifelong regime activist and former national-security chief who had been arrested many times during the Shah's reign. His negotiating team, led by Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, had to thread a needle—come up with an agreement that both the U.S. and the Iranian military could live with. They bargained tough, and on July 14 a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action was negotiated to dispose of 98% of Iran's enriched uranium, dismantle 75% of the centrifuges that had spun the material, close the country's heavy-water nuclear reactor and open its other nuclear facilities to inspection. In return, the sanctions would be lifted and Iran would slowly begin to breathe again—but only after all those and other conditions had been met, which they are likely to be in early 2016.

THE AMERICAN REACTION to the nuclear deal was mostly negative, according to public-opinion polls. Neoconservative Republicans were appalled—the deal left Iran with the capability to enrich uranium to a low grade (which is its right under the Non-Proliferation Treaty). Some, like Senator Marco Rubio, threatened to "tear up" the deal on their first day in office. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu tried to make opposition to the deal into a litmus test for American support for Israel (although most of Israel's military and intelligence community seemed ready to accept it, if warily). The furor has died down in the months since Congress failed to block the deal—the terrorist depredations of ISIS have emerged as a clear and present danger, and Iran has taken a backseat as an international threat. Even Netanyahu has gone to ground.

IRAN'S POWER PLAYERS

ALI KHAMENEI
The Supreme Leader is Iran's spiritual and temporal commander

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD
Rouhani's predecessor was a hard-liner who antagonized the West

MOHAMMAD JAVAD ZARIF
Iran's Western-educated Foreign Minister played a pivotal role in the nuclear deal

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES (3)

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But a strange thing has happened within Iran since the deal was consummated: a formerly secret arm of the IRGC—the Intelligence Office—has suddenly emerged as a domestic force and is arresting journalists, artists, writers and musicians, as well as Iranian-American businessmen. A Washington *Post* reporter, Jason Rezaian, was convicted of unspecified charges in October and has spent more than 500 days in jail.

These sorts of arrests are nothing new. What is new is that the President of Iran, Hassan Rouhani—the Supreme Leader's guy—has opposed them publicly. The long-term rift between reformers and hard-liners in Iran has once again gone public—but this time the military regime seems to have lost its monopoly on power. Unlike Mir-Hossein Mousavi, the Green Movement leader who "lost" the rigged 2009 election to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Rouhani has not been placed under house arrest. He is directly criticizing the actions of the Revolutionary Guards, forcing the IRGC to respond with a public explanation for its brutality.

In November, an IRGC spokesman tried to sell the notion that the arrests were necessary because a secret U.S.- and Britain-inspired "infiltration group" had been discovered with a plan "[to] soften the image of America, raise the issue of human rights and prepare the ground for America's official presence in Iran." Rouhani chose to publicly confront this claim—in a video posted on his Instagram page. "We should not senselessly go after one person or two people, and take them from here or there, and say this is linked to infiltration and make this a big case in the country." More recently, he has spoken against the regime's control of television and many newspapers. "If we look at the headlines in some media we will know who will be arrested tomorrow, who will be shut down tomorrow and who is fair game for slander."

It is unprecedented for the President of Iran to accuse the state of "slander." And it begs a larger question: Now that the Islamic Republic has successfully negotiated with the Great Satan, is Iran's "revolutionary" era coming to a close? No doubt the religious hard-liners, and their police henchmen, will want to continue their oppressive ways—but the government has been slowly giving ground on freedom of expression, and Rouhani's recent statements indicate a new level of political candor in the run-up to crucial parliamentary elections in February.

This may be a sign of even more profound changes in Iran's secretive hierarchy. There are new geostrategic realities in the Middle East, where chaos is metastasizing. The old straight-line national borders are crumbling. Longtime power players—Saddam Hussein, Muammar Gaddafi—have been deposed. Egypt has been crippled by the Arab Spring and the crackdown that followed. Saudi Arabia's kingdom is rattled by generational change. Iran has become, almost by default, the most stable country in the Middle East. The other candidates, Turkey and Israel, have Kurds and Palestinians to provide domestic roil. Iran is also, and crucially, the protector of the region's Shi'ites, who represent only 13% of Islam but seem to have an uncanny ability to position themselves atop fossil fuels. Even in Saudi Arabia, Shi'ites are a majority of the population in the Eastern province, where most of the Saudi oil sits.

IRAN'S MIDDLE EAST

ALLIES
Hizballah, Syria, Iraq, Russia

OPPONENTS
Saudi Arabia, Israel, ISIS

BATTLEFIELDS
Syria, Yemen, Iraq

THE SUNNI-SHI'ITE DIVIDE has supplanted the old East-West conflict as Iran's most immediate threat. A proxy war is being fought between Sunni and Shi'ite armies on two fronts, in Syria and Yemen. And while the Iranian hard-liners still see the U.S. as a quiet ally of the Saudis and Gulf states, the successful nuclear negotiations—which Saudi Arabia opposed—and the Western war against ISIS may be causing some second thoughts among the Revolutionary Guards leadership about who Iran's real enemies are.

In October, Foreign Minister Zarif told a New York audience that the biggest news in Iran was "public outrage" over the Saudis' failure to return the bodies of most of the 464 Shi'ite pilgrims (an Iranian estimate) who were trampled to death in Mecca during the hajj. This was due, in part, to a fundamental clash of religious values—Shi'ites memorialize their dead; Sunnis don't—but it is indicative of the growing tension between the two countries.

The nuclear talks have changed America's calculus as well: Iran isn't a friend, but it is no longer an outlaw state—at least so long as it abides by the agreement. It is also a tacit ally in the fight against America's greatest strategic threat, Wahhabi-style Sunni terrorism. Iran has now been included in the diplomatic talks about Syria's future—it wasn't, before the nuclear agreement—and Zarif has even proposed a peace plan that assumes Bashar Assad's imminent departure. The credibility of the plan is questionable so long as Iran's Lebanon-based military surrogate, Hizballah, remains an integral part of Assad's forces, but it does exist—and, according to U.S. diplomats, provides some basis for hope.

Rouhani's power is limited. National security is not his brief. The economy is, and there he may be vulnerable: Iranians are expecting a boom as soon as the sanctions are lifted, which is highly unrealistic. For the moment, though, Rouhani is immensely popular—in a recent poll he was viewed favorably by 89% of Iranians. And it is possible that despite the crackdown, he is still the Supreme Leader's man—that Khamenei and his military advisers have made the calculation that greater freedom for the Iranian people, and the support for the regime that will ensue, is necessary given the chaos and sectarian terrorism that lies just beyond Iran's borders. That is not likely, given the history of the past 37 years, but—for the first time—it's not entirely impossible either. ◻

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THE SHORT LIST | NO. 6 | THE DISRUPTER

Travis Kalanick

WITH HIS $62.5 BILLION STARTUP, THE UBER FOUNDER IS CHANGING THE NATURE OF WORK

By Rana Foroohar

PHOTOGRAPH BY BALAZS GARDI FOR TIME

The avatar you see when

Travis Kalanick tweets doesn't depict the 39-year-old's puckish grin but an engraving of Alexander Hamilton. The CEO and co-founder of ride-hailing service Uber became interested in the Founding Fathers several years ago and "went deep," consuming everything he could on Washington, Adams and Madison as well as numerous tomes on the first U.S. Treasury Secretary. "Hamilton is my favorite political entrepreneur," says Kalanick of the tough, self-made—some might say self-serving—man who helped establish the country's financial system despite vicious opposition. "Hamilton could see the future. But he also understood how to connect it to the practical reality on the ground. He was a great orator too. Maybe too good. Maybe he spoke too much."

The same has been said of Kalanick during the five years in which Uber shot from being a two-car operation in San Francisco to delivering 3 million rides a day in 66 countries. He has been called a visionary, a disrupter, a genius and a jerk. One thing is certain: his company is unlike anything the world has seen before. Uber is likely the fastest-growing startup in history and definitely the most valuable at $62.5 billion, a figure that is quickly approaching the market capitalization of Volkswagen, the largest automaker on earth. It has 1.1 million active drivers (which it defines as independent contractors who have offered at least one trip in the past week) in 361 cities—nearly 100 of which Uber expanded to in 2015. Not only has Uber become a verb, as Google did, it has created an industry, sending countless entrepreneurs into boardrooms to pitch the "Uber of …" And Kalanick's own ambition ranges far beyond rides: in France, Uber can get you a helicopter. In San Francisco, UberEATS will bring takeout to your door in under 10 minutes. As Kalanick puts it, rather openendedly, "If something is moving from one place to another in a city—that's our jam."

But Uber is much more than a blockbuster business. In 2015, it cemented its role as the most prolific and pugnacious among companies creating the "gig economy," including Airbnb, TaskRabbit and dozens more. They are all emblematic of accelerating transformations in the way we work—at will, directed by technology and without many of the traditional protections enjoyed by the middle class. On the one hand, there is something magical about the way they allow people to monetize resources they already possess. On the other, they suggest a slippery slope that, many argue, ends with workers being taken advantage of. This year, as Kalanick pressed forward into more and more cities, these questions have attained deep significance for workers—and entire national economies—around the world.

This has made Uber and its ilk a political litmus test that is likely to endure through the U.S. presidential election next year. Seen as a symbol for the excesses of the rich in some parts of the world, Uber's expansion sparked violent protests in places such as Mexico City and Paris. Kalanick, who is known for both his detailed grasp of regulatory barriers and the zeal with which he's willing to take them on, is unfazed. "There are a lot of rules in cities that were designed to protect a particular incumbent, but not to move a city's constituents, a city's citizens, and the city itself, forward. And that's a problem," he says. "We need to figure out how to merge political progress with actual progress."

Kalanick's idea of progress is simple and sweeping: transportation as ubiquitous and reliable as running water, everywhere, for everyone. And as part of that vision, he expects to change the way cities operate. On a rainy December day in Boston, speaking to local business leaders, he proclaims, "I see a world in which there is no more traffic in Boston in five years." The crowd chuckles at the hyperbole. Kalanick smiles indulgently but presses the point, and later raises the goal in meetings with his local staff. This time nobody is laughing. Something about his personality makes you feel that an idea previously impossible is becoming probable.

KALANICK WAS BORN in Los Angeles and studied engineering at UCLA before dropping out in 1998 to help found his first company. Scour, a file-sharing service not unlike Napster, ended in disaster when some of the world's biggest media companies sued it for $250 billion in damages, forcing Kalanick to take the firm into Chapter 11. He slept in his childhood bedroom while starting Red Swoosh, a file-sharing technology he called a "revenge firm," because its customers were some of the same corporations that had previously put him out of business. He eventually sold it for $18.7 million, though it had only eight employees. Uber came next. "The thing you have to understand about Travis," says Eric Schmidt, executive chairman of Alphabet, formerly Google, which is an Uber investor, "is that he is the definition of a serial entrepreneur in its purest form, with all the strengths and weaknesses that comes with. He's a fighter. He is against institutional structures. He has to get up every day and make something. He can be disagreeable in that sense that, well, he disagrees."

Consider New York City, in many ways the best place to observe the evolution of Kalanick's vision. Officials had kept the number of taxi medallions, which drivers must either buy or rent to stay on the road, static for 20 years, despite the fact that the city itself had grown by a million people. The aim was to avoid more car traffic. But the result was both numerous unsanctioned cab services and medallion

THE ROAD TO UBIQUITY

361
NUMBER OF CITIES WORLDWIDE IN WHICH UBER OPERATES

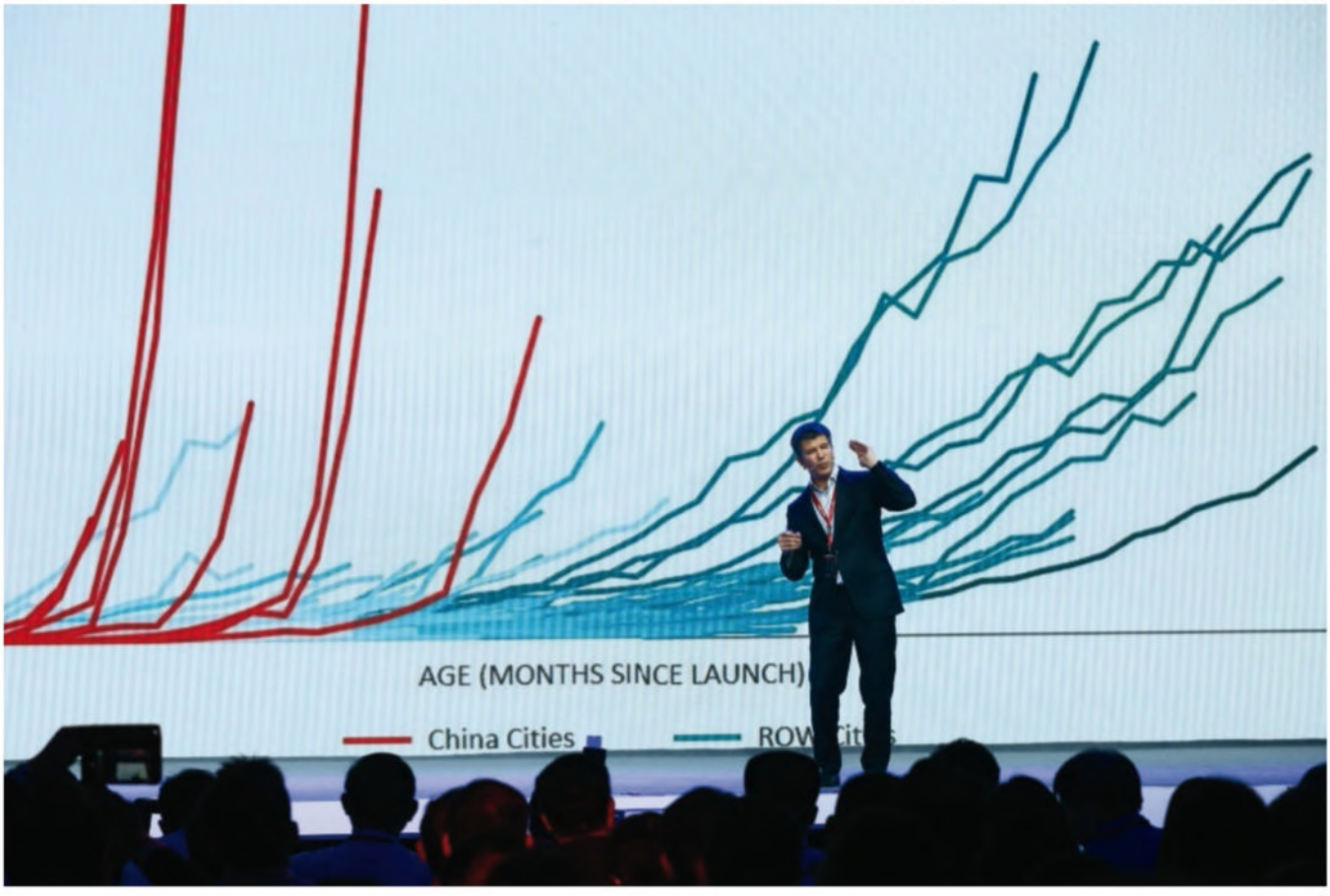
3 million
NUMBER OF TRIPS UBER PROVIDES DAILY AROUND THE WORLD

1.1 million
NUMBER OF ACTIVE UBER DRIVERS

5,000
NUMBER OF UBER EMPLOYEES GLOBALLY

75%
PERCENTAGE OF THE U.S. POPULATION NOW LIVING IN A COUNTY WITH UBER SERVICE

61%
PERCENTAGE OF U.S. UBER DRIVERS WHO HAVE ANOTHER CAREER



CHINAFOTOPRESS/GETTY IMAGES

HAIL FELLOW

Kalanick at a tech conference in Beijing in November. China, he says, is eager for the kind of innovation that Uber brings

prices close to $1 million. Now that Uber, which has waged regulatory battles in New York and other cities it has launched in, is on the road, those prices have dropped, leaving taxi drivers who paid huge amounts for medallions holding a declining asset—or making the switch to work for Uber.

With Uber, drivers set their own hours and are their own boss, something Kalanick believes is highly empowering. "There is a core independence and dignity you get when you control your own time," he says. But Uber drivers aren't in control of everything. They have to cope with the company's pricing, which changes regularly depending on the level of demand and is often focused on driving down cost to get more people into Uber cars. It also means that drivers have to take whatever price is on offer. That's sad for incumbent taxi drivers, but also a fairly typical example of what disruptive technology can do to labor. From English textile workers to travel agents, new technology destroys job categories at the same time as it creates them.

That's one of the big existential worries that Uber creates in many people, even as they enjoy the huge convenience and cost savings it provides. Companies want people to act as entrepreneurs—work hard, 24/7—without necessarily rewarding them that way, with a piece of equity or a higher salary. Taken to logical conclusion, it's hard to imagine why any number of jobs couldn't be Uberized. Many have been already, from handymen to radiologists. But with everyone working on demand, with no safety net, constantly graded up or down, the labor market starts to feel exhaustingly Darwinian. "This is what has people so agitated about Uber," says John Battelle, co-founder of *Wired* magazine, who now runs a conference and events business called NewCo. "It's not a tech story, it's a social story—it's about how we are going to adapt to new possibilities. It's about what the social compact between corporations, government and society is going to be."

On the upside, Uber plays to people's hopes about the future of labor; most millennials say they want to be their own boss, and any Uber driver will tell you that having flexible hours is the best part of the gig. But the company also captures the wider fear of a broken social compact. Uber drivers get no pension, health care or worker-rights protection, and work at the mercy of metrics. "You've got a labor market that looks increasingly like a feudal agricultural hiring fair in which the lord shows up and says,

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'I'll take you, and you, and you today,'" says Adair Turner, chairman of the Institute for New Economic Thinking, one of many nonprofit groups studying the effect of companies like Uber on local economies.

Turner's conclusion: the gig economy reduces friction in labor markets, but it also creates fragmentation that tends to work better for employers, who can leverage superior technology and information, than for workers. A study done by another nonprofit group, the Data & Society Research Institute, found that Uber's driver-monitoring practices "produce significant information asymmetries between the corporate entity and individual drivers." Drivers risk "deactivation" for canceling unprofitable fares and absorb the risk of unknown fares, "even though Uber promotes the idea that they are entrepreneurs who are knowingly investing in such risk."

KALANICK'S SELF-PRESENTATION is a work in progress. Like many of Silicon Valley's anointed, he comes off younger than his 39 years. His speech is sprinkled with acronyms ("TLDR"—too long, didn't read) and bro phrases; he's "down with" or "up for" any number of things, including all-night brainstorming sessions at his "jam pad" (read: home, in San Francisco, which he shares with his violinist girlfriend Gabi Holzwarth) and flying to China to expand Uber into a new city. (Guangzhou is the company's top market worldwide in number of trips.)

He isn't terribly comfortable with the press and can quickly flip into fight mode if you get him on a contentious topic. His body language shifts and his eyes narrow when I ask about critiques within the Valley that he's too much the rapacious businessman and not enough a "don't be evil" type. "Those people don't know me," he says. "What drives me is a hard problem that hasn't been solved, that has a really interesting and impactful solution. And for me it doesn't even matter what the problem is. I just gravitate towards it. Maybe that results in a style that's a little different," he adds. "I'm learning how to be as passionate as I am but understand that when you get bigger, you have to listen more and be more welcoming. And step on toes more lightly."

To help, he enlisted David Plouffe, the man who helped Barack Obama reach the White House, to run Uber's communications and political work. "There are actually some similarities between the two," says Plouffe. "Obama would always ask a lot of questions and say, 'Why did you do it like this? Maybe the opposition has a point?' Travis does that too." Following Plouffe's hiring, Uber got better lobbyists, academic research to back up its positions and endorsements from groups like Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Plouffe argues that Uber is less a replacement of full-time employment than a way of bolstering stagnant wages, since "50% of the drivers work 10 hours a week or less, and hours are falling as new drivers use the app," from soccer moms looking to pick up a few bucks to redo their kitchens to teachers who want to make extra money during summer vacation. "People around the country have two major complaints: that they have too little time, and too little money. Uber is a huge advantage for people struggling with both."

BEYOND RIDES

UberEATS
Delivers meals in 11 North American cities and Paris

UberRUSH
The on-demand service makes local deliveries for businesses

Uber Advanced Technologies Center
The joint venture with Carnegie Mellon is researching driverless cars

Back in Boston, Kalanick conducts a Q&A meeting with full-time staffers—Uber has about 5,000 around the world. He is peppered with questions about whether the company would ever consider handing out perks like subsidized MBAs, as other larger tech firms do. "Oooh, it's getting hot in here," he quips, to laughs. "I think we have to keep working to make Uber feel small. It's when it feels big and you aren't learning or being inspired anymore that you have to give out free MBAs or massages or whatever."

In another session, this time with drivers who are not traditional employees, one of the most frequently asked questions about Uber comes up: When will the company go public—and will contractors share the wealth? Kalanick speaks more carefully now. "It's something that's on our minds," he says. "We have to be careful from a regulatory standpoint. There's a lot of bureaucracy in being a public company." He trails off, perhaps knowing that offering shares to drivers would be tantamount to admitting they really are employees. Later, his attempt to justify Uber's no-tips rule by saying that industries that allow tipping tend to underpay employees doesn't go over well, despite being backed up by empirical proof. "That's ridiculous," mutters one middle-aged female driver.

Uber didn't cause the seismic economic changes roiling the lives of workers everywhere. But, for better or worse, it is benefiting from them. Kalanick says he sometimes feels like he is "driving in the fog. I've got my hands on the wheel and I'm going too fast to look behind me, but I can't see very far in front, either." As he navigates, he is focused on rollouts of new services like UberPool, which encourages carpooling, and the development of driverless cars. (Uber recently plucked researchers from Carnegie Mellon to get into that race along with other firms like Google, Tesla and Ford.) He's also thinking about his next big disruptive idea, which could take on the deeply entrenched real estate industry.

Lately he's gotten interested in another period of history: the late 1800s, better known as the Gilded Age. Appropriately, the volume on his nightstand at the moment is Hamilton biographer Ron Chernow's book on John D. Rockefeller, *Titan*. Rockefeller was, like Kalanick, a self-made man who eventually created the world's largest and most powerful monopoly, Standard Oil, battling regulators, unions and political officials in the process. The inspiration Kalanick takes from it may affect much more than the price of your next cab ride. ◻

THE SHORT LIST | NO. 7 | THE CHAMPION

Caitlyn Jenner

THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS TRANSGENDER WOMAN SHINES HER SPOTLIGHT ON THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY

By Katy Steinmetz

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEBASTIAN KIM FOR TIME

Perched on a stool inside

New York City's Trump Hotel, 15 floors above Central Park, Caitlyn Jenner is cracking jokes as assistants brush her dark hair and gloss her lips. In between vogues for a photographer, Jenner tells a story about being stranded in the Australian jungle for a survivalist television show years ago, when she was a celebrity known by another name. "It was an interesting study in your life, to take everything away," says a person who this year said goodbye to 65 years of living as a man. "Makes you appreciate what you've got."

To the plenty she already has—a cliff-top home in Malibu, Calif., an Olympic gold medal, membership in reality television's first family—Jenner added a title in 2015: the most famous transgender woman in the world. It's one she earned instantly, the moment the former "world's greatest athlete" said that we should call her Caitlyn. At a time when news of even a celebrity's sexual orientation tends to be met with a shrug, Jenner's rare, generation-spanning fame made her announcement about her gender identity a global media event. Roughly 17 million people watched Jenner explain that she identifies as a woman in an April interview with Diane Sawyer. *Vanity Fair*'s website shattered traffic records when a corseted Caitlyn was introduced on the magazine's cover in June. The same day, Jenner joined Twitter and had a million followers in four hours—less time than it took President Obama to reach that mark. She received countless supportive messages, including one from the President, along with plenty of hate and mockery.

Jenner's rebirth as Caitlyn was the most visible high point of a banner year for the transgender community. The Secretary of Defense called the ban on transgender people's open military service "outdated" and directed that the policy be reviewed. A measure to add nondiscrimination protections for LGBT people to the Civil Rights Act was introduced in Congress with nearly 200 co-sponsors. And critically acclaimed shows like *Transparent* that feature transgender story lines with respect and depth have chiseled away at the stigma of being trans. These gains come as the LGBT-rights movement has been advancing at a speed unthinkable just a decade ago. And this year, spurred on by young people more eager to challenge gender stereotypes than any generation before them, it seemed the *T* was finally getting the attention advocates have pursued for decades.

Jenner's story reached red states and rural towns where it can be harder for transgender people to live openly. "We know that hearts are opened more than anything by people understanding that LGBT people are people that they know," says Jennifer Finney Boylan, a professor of English at Barnard College and one of the estimated 0.5% of Americans who are transgender. "Our numbers are small, but here's Caitlyn Jenner. Ladies and gentlemen, we give you Caitlyn Jenner."

Yet the headlines about progress can obscure harsh realities. At least 21 transgender women have been murdered in America this year, making it the community's deadliest on record. Transgender people continue to suffer poverty, unemployment, homelessness, family rejection and harassment at much higher rates than the general public. Nor is all attention helpful. Some trans people and their allies worry that increased exposure has given their serious struggle the patina of an overhyped fad.

This burden of hope and angst puts the world's most visible transgender woman in a peculiar place. When Jenner arrived at the 1976 Olympics, America was looking for a hero, and the decathlete delivered. That task was hard, but the path was clear: run faster, jump higher, throw longer. This community needs heroes too, and Jenner has insisted that she will "do good" for others by transitioning so publicly. But the expectations she faces now are far more complicated. Her life, with all her fame, money and connections, doesn't resemble those of many in the community she wants to help. That means she has an unprecedented opportunity to open minds. But it presents just as many chances to close them.

A LIFE IN THE LIMELIGHT

AMERICA'S CHAMPION
Jenner's decathlon gold medal at the 1976 Olympics led to the title "world's greatest athlete"

BECOMING CAITLYN
Jenner's coming-out made her the most famous transgender woman in the world

CAITLYN JENNER IS AWARE of all this. Sitting in an armchair after the photo shoot, she seems tired of people pointing out how privileged she is, something she spends a lot of tape acknowledging and learning about on her E! docuseries, *I Am Cait*. The first season was filled with Jenner testing out ponytails, trying on dresses and giddily experimenting with other surface trappings of being a woman. But it also makes a point of training the spotlight on less fortunate transgender people: a sex worker who was stabbed, an aspiring nurse denied a place in school, a teen who committed suicide, those who will never be able to afford the expensive medical care that Jenner can. The very first scene shows her in bed at 4:32 a.m., anxious and unmade. "What a responsibility I have toward this community," she says. "I just hope I get it right." The show is Jenner's chance to meet the world on her terms, and the transgender friends she features are partly there to prove that they're people like anyone else. She and her entourage drink wine, gossip, ride motorbikes, throw snowballs.

Now filming the second season, Jenner calls it "our" show: "I don't want it to be about me. I want this show to be about all these stories that are out there, the people, the hardship." While she will not apologize for having "worked very hard" and being worth millions, Jenner is careful to be unassuming.

WHEATIES: GENERAL MILLS; VANITY FAIR: ANNIE LEIBOVITZ EXCLUSIVELY FOR VANITY FAIR

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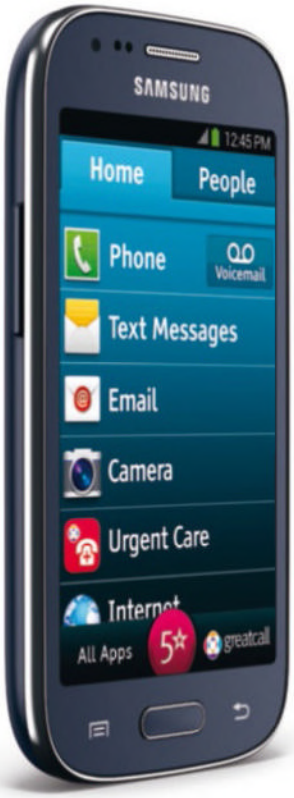

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"I am not a spokesperson for the trans community," she says. "I am a spokesperson for my story, and that's all I can tell. And hopefully by telling my story, I can make people think."

That story begins about 40 miles north of the Trump Hotel in the small suburban New York town of Mount Kisco. That's where Mr. and Mrs. Jenner welcomed a healthy baby boy to their family, one who would prove to have a gift for sports and a gnawing confusion about identity. "I have struggled with identity all my life. It's not like something that just happened last week," Jenner says. "When I was 8 years old, I was running into my mom's closet. Nobody would know. I was also very good at hiding it." Jenner continued to hide her feelings (sometimes by wearing women's underwear under men's suits) as the high school athletic star became a college football player and then a decathlete bound for the 1976 Olympics.

The Montreal Games came at a raw time. The U.S. was still reeling from the Vietnam War. Cold War tensions were rising. The previous Summer Games in Munich had been jolted by the massacre of 11 members of the Israeli Olympic delegation. "People were looking for a positive, all-American story," says Olympic historian David Wallechinsky.

SEIZING HER MOMENT

Jenner with her mother Esther at the ESPY Awards in July. In her speech accepting the Arthur Ashe Courage Award, she cast herself as a protector for transgender kids

The decathlon grew out of the ancient Olympic pentathlon, whose champions were seen as icons of Greek masculinity, their bodies sculpted in marble and their feats praised by Aristotle. The modern decathlon winner is known as the "world's greatest athlete," a title Jenner earned by beating Soviet and East German foes. The gold medal—and the victory pose later enshrined on a Wheaties box—made Jenner a handsome, wholesome household icon. "It's immortality," says gold-medal swimmer Nancy Hogshead-Makar. "You are part of something that is bigger than yourself that is about human excellence. Bruce Jenner was an A-list Olympian."

Looking back on that time, Jenner sees the experience partly as an attempt to run away from questions about gender identity that she wasn't ready to face. She describes the triumphant win as, in some ways, "a big dead end." After that, there was no training to fill the days, no goal to smother other anxieties.

Hollywood helped. Jenner's Olympic fame led to a string of film and TV appearances. There was a gig endorsing Tropicana juice, followed by years of stints on talk shows and reality programs. Two marriages brought four children and two divorces. Then came the 1991 union to Kris Kardashian, followed by the show that would catapult Jenner back to the red carpet. Through *Keeping Up With the Kardashians,* Jenner became a fixture on screens across America, this time as a father and stepdad to Kylie, Kendall, Khloé, Kim, Kourtney and Rob. "For the younger generation, I remember one kid who said, 'You mean Kylie's dad was an athlete?' " Jenner says with a cackle.

Reality TV may have given Jenner new relevance to millennials, but the athletic fame remains powerful currency. Nicole Modjeski, a 45-year-old transgender woman from Mississippi, was rejected years ago by her conservative Christian mother and brother when she came out to them. They said she was sinning and going to hell. "Then when the Caitlyn Jenner interview came out, for the first time, they understood," Modjeski says. Her brother apologized. Her mother took her shopping for makeup and started reading about the community's harrowing 41% attempted-suicide rate. "That's the kind of thing we're never going to be able to measure," says Mara Keisling, the executive director of the National Center for Transgender Equality, of Jenner's coming-out. "The educational moment that it creates."

JENNER MAY SHY AWAY from being called a spokesperson, no matter how much she is treated like one, but she says she is ready to take on "more of a leadership role." And she already sounds like a political organizer, launching into impromptu speeches about outmoded laws and her plans to get "corporate America" to funnel its money toward LGBT-rights groups. The second season of *I Am Cait* will follow her and her entourage on a bus tour across America, and she says they will likely make a stop in Houston, where voters this year repealed a law that would have protected people from being fired or denied housing because they are transgender. It would also have assured they could use the bathroom where they are most comfortable, and opponents of the law rallied behind banners that read NO MEN IN WOMEN'S BATHROOMS.

Jenner's fame and privilege cut both ways. A registered Republican, she previously opposed same-sex marriage and has drawn fire for comments suggesting that some people prefer welfare to work. At a recent Chicago speech, she was confronted by protesters calling her a "clueless rich white woman." "As a celebrity, she just has access to resources that the vast majority of the transgender community does not have," says Kris Hayashi, executive director of the Transgender Law Center and a transgender man. "Her telling

KEVIN MAZUR—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

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her story and being visible is important. But if that is the only story people hear, that is a problem."

Transgender people have long struggled with their authenticity's being called into question. People doubt that they *really* are who they say they are, whether that's a parent insisting that it's all "just a phase" or protesters in Texas asserting that transgender women are really men out to terrorize their daughters in the restroom. For Jenner, that skepticism is compounded by the artifice of reality TV and doubts about those willing to be part of it, especially when one's private life is being aired in exchange for money. In Jenner's coming-out interview, Sawyer asked outright if it was all a publicity "stunt." Jenner dismissed her: "What I'm doing is going to do some good."

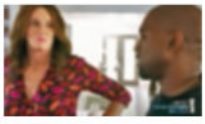
The question came up again when ESPN chose Jenner for the Arthur Ashe Courage Award, named for the African-American tennis champion and AIDS activist, at its ESPY Awards show. Sportscaster Bob Costas called the decision "crass exploitation" and a "tabloid play" for ratings. Others objected to the notion that Jenner had done anything courageous. More criticism followed in November after *Glamour* named Jenner one of its women of the year. The widower of a previous honoree, a police officer who died on 9/11, shipped back his wife's award in protest, saying: "Was there no woman in America, or the rest of the world, more deserving than this man?"

The ESPYs did get a ratings boost: the 7.7 million viewers who tuned in were a 250% jump from the year before. The show's producer, Maura Mandt, says Jenner's stirring 22-minute acceptance speech, in which she presented herself as a shield for vulnerable LGBT children, more than justified the choice. "I really don't know what takes more personal courage, for all of us in our daily lives, than for us to tell the truth," Mandt says. "People are killing themselves over this, literally killing themselves and being killed and not being able to get jobs. And to have somebody stand up there and say, 'Pick on me, I can take it, but don't pick on everyone else'—that's the whole reason."

Yet even for some in the transgender community, the honors seem premature. And some women have balked at the way Jenner has embraced being a woman. In a controversial New York *Times* oped, feminist writer Elinor Burkett took issue with Jenner's sultry coming-out photo shoot and declaration that her "brain is much more female than it is male," a remark she felt reinforced stereotypical dividing lines between men and women. What makes a woman a woman, Burkett argued, is experience living in the world as one. And since Jenner hasn't done that for the vast majority of her life, she "shouldn't get to define us."

Jenner's many defenders have pointed out that being hyperfeminine—or a "glamour-puss," as transgender friends lovingly describe her—doesn't make one any less of a woman. Neither does wearing a pantsuit or being the butchest lady on the block. "If the existence of superfemme people really diminished the world so much, the world would be gone by now," says Keisling. And Jenner's sense of herself may evolve. Some transgender people who come out in older age describe their experience as a second, even more awkward puberty. They may experiment with different looks and postures the way adolescents do. "The world cannot expect us to be the most perfect women, because we have had zero preparation. We only have our desires," says transgender actor and model Carmen Carrera. "To carry all of that weight of people judging and people having something to say—I could never do that."

A SHOW WITH A MISSION



STAR POWER

Jenner has said that Kanye West, who is married to her stepdaughter Kim Kardashian, helped her family accept her transition

EARLY ACTIVISM

In this episode, Jenner met with the family of Kyler Prescott, a trans teen who committed suicide

JENNER SAYS IT'S IMPORTANT for her "to try to project a good image for this community" and starts by defining a good image as the way she looks. "I think it's much easier for a trans woman or a trans man who authentically kind of looks and plays the role," she says. "I want to dress well. I want to look good." Here she's wading into charged territory. When it isn't obvious that a transgender person is transgender, they're often said to "pass." There is what is called "passing privilege," referring to the easier, safer, more accepted lives that such transgender people can often lead. But the notion that transgender people are successful only when they hide who they are is much criticized. So is the term itself. As one transgender woman told me, "Passing has a connotation that you're pretending to be something you're not, and we're just being ourselves."

Jenner goes on to explain that projecting a good image also involves acknowledging her ignorance and educating herself about LGBT issues. She has generally responded to criticism with poise and dedication to her new cause, enlisting all the determination of an Olympic decathlete training for a competition. "For the first time in my life, in many, many, many, many years, I actually wake up in the morning excited about the day," she says. "Because of my position in life, maybe I can make a bigger and faster change of thinking in the world than someone who doesn't have a platform, so why not use it?"

When I ask what it means to her to be a woman, Jenner lets out a loud sound that is part sigh and part laugh. She grabs her head with her hands. "Ohhh, that is something," she says. It's not a question most women are ever asked to answer, and Jenner is just beginning to grapple with it. "Over the last couple of months, I got to the point where I'm very comfortable with myself and where I'm at, but what does all this mean?" she asks. "It's more than makeup and clothes and all that other stuff. And what is that? I'm working on that. There's still a lot to learn about being a woman." —*With reporting by Daniel D'Addario* □

PRESCOTT FAMILY: E!

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MEXICO

The Guelaguetza Festival in Oaxaca, one of Mexico's most celebrated cultural events—photo courtesy of Rincones de mi Tierra

Mexico Rising Above the BRICS

The Mexican economy is growing steadily despite challenging global conditions. With the U.S. also on the rebound, Mexico has a golden opportunity to grasp long-lasting GDP growth.

Mexico, praised by the IMF in a recent report for showing resilience in the face of the falling peso, global financial tremors and the drop in oil prices, is still the top economic performer in Latin America. Outstripping regional growth by 1.2% in 2014, and with IMF forecasts of 2.4% growth for 2015, Mexico is battling through turbulent global conditions thanks to its powerful manufacturing and industrial sectors, and seeking increased foreign direct investment (FDI) as a result of the economic slowdown seen in the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries.

The government has been enacting vital OECD reforms designed to boost GDP growth by an extra percentage point per year for the next 10 years. These major structural measures have been legislated to improve Mexico's competitiveness, education, energy, finance sector, labor, infrastructure, telecommunications and tax system.

Conditions in the manufacturing sector have been improving, and thanks to low unemployment and low inflation along with better economic prospects, consumer confidence has also increased. Mexico's economic output is directly linked to the recovery of the U.S. economy, global developments in the oil and gas sector, and the effect of China's slowing economy on world markets, creating external pressures on the country that the new reforms have been designed to counter.

However, even in the face of uncertainty, Mexico is now the fourth-largest car manufacturer globally, while high-tech exports such as machinery, aerospace sector products, computers and electronics now account for more than $45 billion worth of exports, showing that the economy is diversifying. Gabino Cué Monteagudo, governor of Oaxaca state, says that 2015 is a vital year for the country, because not only will the national reforms kick in, but also the ones his administration has been enacting during the past five years.

"Many reforms focused on changing the perception of a state embroiled in social and political conflicts," Cué Monteagudo says. "They resulted in a marked increase in private investment in tourism, which remains our primary source of wealth, wind energy and services."

Mining investments have also featured prominently, with Oaxaca now being the fourth-largest state in Mexico in terms of mining production. Oaxaca is more than an investment destination, however: it also represents a huge element of the tourism industry in Mexico, with its fascinating pre-Hispanic history—as the geographical point where the Zapotec and Mixtec civilizations met—and the rich colonial heritage, with its lavish culinary and artistic legacy, showing there is something for everyone.

"We have beaches that span 550km [341.8 miles] of coastline," Cué Monteagudo says. "Puerto Escondido is also very attractive to

Gabino Cué Monteagudo
Governor, Oaxaca

Roberto Borge Angulo
Governor, Quintana Roo

younger travelers or surfing enthusiasts, and we are also speaking to airlines about opening a direct connection to Los Angeles to better tap into the U.S. market."

Those tourist dollars, however, will be keenly fought over by other states such as Quintana Roo, the home of Cancún and one of the prime destinations of the region, famed for its miles of sandy beaches. Roberto Borge Angulo, governor of the state, says that Quintana Roo has maintained its leadership in the tourism sector and in the generation of foreign exchange, and although Quintana Roo's economy is centered on the service sector, competitiveness has grown by 5.5% since 2014.

The latest report on regional economies from Banco de México predicts tourist activity in Quintana Roo will expand over the next 12 months as a result of an increase in national and international air connectivity, expanding hotel infrastructure, and the depreciation of the peso. "Many of Quintana Roo's coasts are registered as protected natural areas or have some state regulations to conserve them," Borge Angulo says. "Environment conservation is key to maintaining the natural richness that allows us to prosper as a tourist destination, so we prioritize care for the forests, the barrier reef and water treatment.

"We will also continue to improve our tourism and port infrastructure across the state in order to remain competitive during 2016.

The Mayakoba resort includes the Banyan Tree, Fairmont and Rosewood hotels.

By the end of 2015, we will most likely have received more than 17 million visitors by air, sea, and land. We are also expanding our port infrastructure. Carnival Corporation, the world's largest travel and leisure company, recently opened a highly anticipated expansion of its operations in Cozumel, adding a third berth to the company's pier at Puerta Maya, the most popular cruise destination in the Caribbean."

Borge Angulo also says that Quintana Roo and the Yucatán Peninsula are safe spots for tourism. U.S. tourists can check the travel advisory notices issued by the Department of State, and these warnings

El Dorado Maroma. **www.karismahotels.com**

show the major travel destinations in the state have no warnings in place. In fact, this year, Canadian and U.S. officials pointed out that the Yucatán Peninsula, composed of the states of Quintana Roo, Campeche and Yucatán, is the safest region in Mexico.

With unparalleled scenery underwater and on land, Quintana Roo offers some of the most exciting diving and snorkeling sites in the world, and when coupled with the many biosphere reserves and national parks that are home to a diversity of animal and plant life, its reputation as a natural playground is easy to understand.

Agustín Sarasola
Managing Director
OHL's Mayakoba Development

While Quintana Roo's famed Riviera Maya boasts a growing number of hotels to meet its ever-increasing popularity, Agustín Sarasola heads a unique resort with the legendary Mexican hospitality in place. A team of dedicated biologists, architects and designers work in the conservation of native flora and fauna—six miles of freshwater canals surrounded by exotic mangroves and bird life—where guests can take a relaxing boat trip, while a spectacular 18-hole Greg Norman golf course awaits them.

As Sarasola says, "The Mayakoba is a feat of environmental engineering. It was designed to take advantage of a beautiful natural environment, where we have created a unique concept combining sustainability with some of the best hotel brands in the world: Banyan Tree, Fairmont and Rosewood."

Catering to the inner-rock-star visitors of all ages are the Hard Rock Hotels All Inclusive: a select resort concept in Mexico and the Caribbean and the brainchild of native Mexican and famed tourism entrepreneur Roberto Chapur. The holding company was the first to create an all-inclusive resort in Cancún in 1990.

Chapur, CEO of Hard Rock Hotels All Inclusive, says, "We opened the very first all-inclusive Hard Rock Hotel. Music is universal, and the Hard Rock brand has a global reach. The authentic music memorabilia, unique music amenities, and fun experiences found throughout our hotels resonate with guests from all around the world. The average stay is six days, which beats the average Cancún stay of five days. We have a program called Limitless Resort Credit, which offers guests up to $1,800 per room that they can spend on whatever they want: be it

Rafael Feliz
Chairman/CEO
Karisma Hotels & Resorts

tours, our spa or our golf course."

To ensure maximum customer enjoyment, the company has partnered with family-friendly brands such as HIT Entertainment—whose characters include Barney, Bob the Builder and Thomas the Tank Engine—allowing them to cater to each age group so that every family member enjoys their vacation.

In 2014, Mexico had 25 million passenger arrivals, representing 19% growth, with 2015 proving even better. From 2009 to 2014, Mexico saw a further increase in tourism spending and hotel-room pricing of some 35% above prices before the global financial crash. This surge is the reason that Rafael Feliz, chairman and CEO of Karisma Hotels & Resorts, was keen to expand its group of resort complexes. As he says, "Karisma started as the dream of a group of young people working for Allegro Resorts, which was a leader in the sector in the '90s. When Allegro was sold to Occidental Resorts in 2000, we launched our own project, Karisma. Mexico is now our flagship, although we are also present in Jamaica, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Croatia and Serbia.

"We founded the Gourmet Inclusive trademark, which seeks to apply the gourmet concept to every part of a stay in our hotels, from check-in to check-out. We partnered with Viacom to create the Nickelodeon Experience at the Azul Hotels in the Riviera Maya, which has been a great success. We then began a program called the Culinary Series, with chefs visiting each month to cook for our guests."

Mexico City, the political capital, is increasingly becoming a destination for tourism in its own right, competing against sun and sea destinations in the country with a lavish collection of museums, heritage and lifestyle options. With the structural reforms taking pace, the number of foreign expats in the city is growing.

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Marcos Achar Tawil, CEO of real-estate developer IMAT and the Grand Polanco Residencial, one of the capital's foremost luxury addresses, says "We like to do things that are timeless. That's why Grand Polanco Residencial is a development of iconic architecture in Polanco, the city's most prestigious neighborhood. We offer apartments with all amenities, luxuriously furnished and ready to be occupied, making them

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Jaime A. Cervantes Covarrubias
CEO, Grupo Vitalmex

perfect for the expatriate market. The hallmark of our developments is quality and comfort."

Across Latin America, almost 450 million people earning between $4 and $10 per day pay for their own health treatment, including 90 million in Mexico alone, according to the Inter-American Development Bank. Lack of empowerment and education about personal healthcare, and a public health system unable to serve each patient, are at the root of this situation. Many of the country's hospitals don't have the capacity or new technology that patients require. This leaves fertile ground for health care entrepreneurs like Grupo Vitalmex. Jaime A. Cervantes Covarrubias, the CEO of the group, says how his company has been at the forefront of working at the base of the health-care pyramid.

"We have dedicated ourselves to identifying ways to resolving three challenges facing the Mexican health care sector," he says. "The first is access to health care; the second is the availability of resources for patients; and the third is for patients to be seen when they need to be. These areas have become fragmented due to a lack of infrastructure, personnel and medicine, and because people are not affiliated with an insurance or public health care option."

Vitalmex is seen as a developer of innovative integrated services for the health care sector. Under its Plan 2025, launched in 2013, the company has a specific direction in which it aims to grow. The long-term plan is to create a health-care system, coordinate the fragmented elements that exist, provide better training for medical professionals and lastly, boost the availability of integrated services throughout the nation.

"Vitalmex pioneered the pay-per-procedure model that has now matured in Mexico's public health care system. This allows one payment to cover various aspects, such as IT, training, equipment, and supplies that largely remove the risk of medical waste," says Cervantes Covarrubias. "We want to combine this integrated-services approach with PPP contracts so that hospitals can be planned from the start, with the right budget in mind and the level of coverage needed. This will avoid the massive delays that happen at each stage of many PPP hospital projects. We could create economies of scale allowing us to renovate older hospitals and create new infrastructure without reducing the level of care on offer."

Miguel Granados, president of pharmaceutical market leader Landsteiner Scientific, recognizes the vast potential for growth.

"Our company is one of the five main pharmaceutical companies in the region and among the 10 most important labs in Mexico. Our new production facility is the biggest of its kind in Latin America," he says."Our business development plan is based on aggressive product development—particularly in generic biosimilars and highly specialized generics—with the development of our staff, while also making investments in technology. The greatest challenge Mexico's pharmaceutical industry faces is to resist the consolidation trend of the market by improving its processes to reduce costs and have more competitive prices. Furthermore, it needs to invest in technology and its people. Landsteiner has an aggressive expansion strategy for the Latin American market in place. We already have 30 products registered in Latin American countries, and by the end of 2016 we will have 100."

Meanwhile, a combination of low interest rates, which make mortgages more accessible, and government support for low- to middle-income housing buyers is spurring demand and generating golden

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Miguel A. Granados Cervera
President
Landsteiner Scientific

Jorge Mario Arreola Real
CEO, PromoCasa

opportunities for real-estate developers in Mexico with the right expertise.

Jorge Mario Arreola Real, CEO of PromoCasa, a leading developer in northern Mexico, believes middle-income housing will continue to grow alongside demand in general at a rate around 7%. "The growth of the sector is based on economic stability," Arreola says. "If that stability is maintained and rates remain low, demand will continue to grow. The concept of a smart home is emerging, and technology will become a differentiating factor. In 2016 we will open two new communities in Los Cabos and Culiacán. Both are middle-income products that can appeal to returning Mexicans and Americans alike, and even to tourists."

While PromoCasa will grow by 50% in 2015, Arreola claims future growth could come from the ever-increasing number of public-private partnerships that are needed to improve many Mexican cities. "There are currently four partners in PromoCasa, but we are open to finding new ones, be they Mexican or international," he says.

Desarrollos Delta is one of the major players in Monterrey, northern Mexico's thriving industrial city, and, led by president Federico Garza Santos, they look set to continue their rise to the top. As Santos says, "We focus on built-to-suit space, tailor-made to the specifics of clients. We are working on a project for General Electric, which will host its operations center for Latin America. Our success comes from offering far lower prices to such companies. We also have two major growth strategies. First, as part of our real estate investment trust Fibra MTY, we acquire mature office-space properties. Second, our Delta arm develops new assets, giving our two divisions very different risk profiles." The company is now placing itself at the front of the industry by bringing together operators and developers within their trust, and will focus on becoming an administrator of funds in the U.S. and Mexico as the trust continues to grow.

Another boost to the economy is expected to come from the liberalization of the energy market, which should lower costs for users of electricity. One company looking to take advantage of this new, liberal environment is Química Apollo, headed by CEO Constantino Galanis. As he says, "Pemex [the state-owned oil giant] needed to transform itself with this energy reform. More importantly, its monopoly will be broken, which is what the industry has needed since the beginning. Química Apollo is very well positioned to work with the new players that are coming in. We know the market and the country, and we know the oil fields and the kind of oil that will be found so they can start—and even increase—production."

And, with the rules of the game in oil and gas changing, the need for expert advice to navigate the new legal maze increases. Juan Carlos Machorro, partner at Santamarina y Steta, says that his company—regarded by the market as leading experts in the energy sector—has foreseen this and has adapted to the new environment.

"Differentiation and balance have been the major reasons for our success."

Federico Garza Santos, President, Desarrollos Delta

"We see interesting PPPs arising with the support of private-sector financing," he says. "This company was formed to serve the mining and energy industries, and we understand the new rules of the game in depth, which puts us in a privileged position. Our differentiator is that we have the ability to offer ourselves as a single firm in all the areas of a business and the capacity to develop the entirety of an energy infrastructure project."

Herbert Bettinger Barrios, director general of Bettinger Asesores, also sees the new environment as an unprecedented opportunity for the whole economy as well as his company, as he looks to fully exploit years of expertise in tax and associated costs for businesses operating in Mexico. "We are tax specialists with a strong focus on mining, import and export, and we have many customers in the hydrocarbon industries," he says.

Química Apollo, Mexico's number one energy solutions expert. www.quimica-apollo.com.mx

Bettinger also sees that there is much work to be done in regards to the perception of Mexico abroad as an investment destination. It is time to invest in Mexico, but U.S. investors are very careful with their investments, and, of course, corruption can be a deterring factor. Mexico has very good controls in place, but what is needed is a push to make them work, which we, as an advisor to foreign investors, do."

Infrastructure throughout Mexico will see great increases in capacity, specifically in facilities such as the airports, which are vital to both the tourism and business sectors. One airport that has already had a remarkable surge in passenger numbers is that of Guadalajara, where arrivals have been climbing steadily. As Fernando Bosque Mohino, CEO of Grupo Aeroportuario del Pacífico (GAP) says, "Our most important airport is Guadalajara, the second most important city in Mexico. In 2015, it will receive 1 million more passengers than in 2014. The growth rate stood at 500,000 in 2013 and 600,000 in 2014, showing that Guadalajara and its state, Jalisco, are growing into real business and service hubs. Our five-year investment plan was approved at the end of 2014. In total, we will invest $340 million, with Guadalajara and Tijuana receiving the heaviest investments. We want Guadalajara to grow to over 13 million passengers by 2020, by integrating two terminals and a new international area and expanding capacity, including the number of gates. Our major goal is to increase connectivity between Mexico and the U.S."

Antonio Nacif Kuri
CEO
Grupo Galas Janel

One company benefiting from the U.S. recovery and improving investor interest in Mexico is Grupo Galas Janel, one of Mexico's prime export businesses that deals with major multinational companies. As CEO Antonio Nacif Kuri says, "Our business has two sides: one industrial, mainly working with packing materials and associated services for big companies such as Procter & Gamble, Nestlé, Unilever, PepsiCo, and more. This is a business with high-entry barriers, and because of that we have little competition, as there are few companies in Mexico that can work with the volume, quality and service required by those companies. Ours is a stable, secure business, and linked to the growth of large multinationals and the country itself. Then we have the sales side where we work with more than 25,000 products. We make things like sticky notes, masking tape, school tape, office tape, Christmas trees and decorations, and packaging for everything we retail. Unlike other players in the industry that mostly use base imported material, we are completely vertically integrated and manufacture in our factories in Monterrey."

The Mexican manufacturing industry is at a crucial stage globally, and the same can be said of the real estate, infrastructure, energy, tourism and health industries. Mexico has to take advantage of the increasing lack of competitiveness of Chinese products, and the economic slowdown in Brazil, which is adversely affecting its global reputation. U.S. companies are looking at Mexico to replace the supply of products from Asia as they become more expensive. With the Mexican middle classes seeing their purchasing power and access to credit increase, consumer culture in the country will continue to expand, opening domestic markets to producers from home and abroad. The much-vaunted "Mexican moment" is far from over: it is about to begin.

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The Best of Culture 2015

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Reality and romance gave life to 2015's best entertainment. In *Spotlight,* filmmakers told of reporters uncovering rampant sexual abuse among Catholic priests. On television, *Veep* lampooned all too clearly the acid discourse of contemporary politics. And Ta-Nehisi Coates' searing analysis of racial strife, *Between the World and Me,* dovetailed with the protests of #BlackLivesMatter. Against that backdrop, Adele gave us "When We Were Young," a bittersweet torch song about nostalgia, and novelist Lauren Groff told the story of a marriage driven by success and secrets in *Fates and Furies.* On the big screen, ardor got inspired updates in *Phoenix,* a thriller crafted from the ruins of the Holocaust, and *I'll See You in My Dreams,* which set simple friendship alongside an unexpected love affair. Dive deeper into our critics' picks and you'll see the year in a new light.

For expanded lists, go to **time.com/2015top10s**

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIK MADIGAN HECK FOR TIME

Movies

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

The 10 Best Movies

1 SPOTLIGHT

In Tom McCarthy's urgent, rolled-up shirtsleeve of a movie, detailing how the Boston *Globe* uncovered a hydra-headed sex-abuse scandal within the city's Catholic archdiocese, reporters don't just work the phones and trawl the web; they actually leave their desks. Though it's set in the early 2000s, this isn't a picture about how journalism used to matter but a reaffirmation that it must always matter, whether the story emerges in ink or pixels.

2 PHOENIX

German actor Nina Hoss plays a concentration-camp survivor whose disfigured face is rebuilt by a plastic surgeon. If only reclaiming her old life could be as simple. The husband she still loves, played by the chilling Ronald Zehrfeld, has presumed her dead and now doesn't recognize her, though he's not above using her as a pawn in a deceitful inheritance scheme. Director Christian Petzold has given us a noir romance of vast, bruised beauty, stylish on the surface but capable of cutting deep.

3 I'LL SEE YOU IN MY DREAMS

How do you know when there are no surprises left in life? The surprise is that … you don't. In Brett Haley's gentle but potent comedy, Blythe Danner plays a retired schoolteacher, long widowed, whose staid life takes a sharp left when two men appear on the scene: pool cleaner Martin Starr is the kind of platonic friend you meet only once in a lifetime; casually charismatic Sam Elliott is the love interest you never could have planned for.

4 CLOUDS OF SILS MARIA

The clouds in the title of Olivier Assayas' quietly ravishing film refer to a rare meteorological phenomenon. But the movie's really spectacular weather emerges in the half-prickly, half-affectionate interplay between Juliette Binoche, as an anxious, aging actor, and her flaky-smart millennial assistant, Kristen Stewart. Tension between the two hangs in the air with a silent crackle, but the bond between them is definitive and majestic, like thunder.

5 IRIS

One of the final films completed by exalted documentarian Albert Maysles before he died in March, this portrait of the extraordinarily stylish nonagenarian businesswoman Iris Apfel is also a celebration of the revivifying power of creativity and a reflection on the workaday joys and annoyances of long-term partnerships. (Apfel's husband of nearly 70 years, Carl, died at age 100 not long after the film was released.) Apfel states that she likes being "in the world and of the world." This movie lays down the challenge to go forth, boldly, wearing lots of necklaces.

6 MUSTANG

In Turkish filmmaker Deniz Gamze Erguven's feature debut, five sisters living in a nowhere town by the Black Sea negotiate the rocky territory between sexual desire and the expectations—religious, social, familial—imposed on them. Gorgeously filmed, *Mustang* weighs a dream vision of girlhood against the much harsher reality of what it means to be a woman in a restrictive culture—but the real key to the movie's power is that Erguven can also make us laugh.

7 TANGERINE

Sean Baker shot this exuberant little film on three iPhone 5S's, but it packs a VistaVision punch. Kitana Kiki Rodriguez and Mya Taylor give twin knockout performances as best friends, transgender women and prostitutes Sin-Dee and Alexandra, who look for work and love on the seedier streets of Los Angeles. The dialogue is rambunctious and exuberantly raggedy, but *Tangerine* takes you to a place beyond comedy—you'll still be laughing, but your breath catches a little on the way out.

8 CREED

Ryan Coogler mines the Rocky Balboa legend for what seems like the umpteenth time—yet *Creed,* unapologetically melodramatic, is so vital and satisfying that it throws down a challenge to every filmmaker who dares to take on a reboot or sequel. Michael B. Jordan plays fledgling prizefighter Adonis Johnson, the

BEST PERFORMANCES

Joseph Gordon-Levitt

Some of us have been waiting years for Joseph Gordon-Levitt to star in a musical. For now, his gorgeously physical performance as wireworker extraordinaire Philippe Petit in *The Walk* is the next best thing. Re-creating Petit's famous 1974 aerial stroll between the World Trade Center's Twin Towers—traversing that treacherously slender cable inch by inch and foot by foot—he's a chassis of strength and confidence that's as tensile as steel and as light as a whisper.

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PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK MADIGAN HECK FOR TIME

Movies

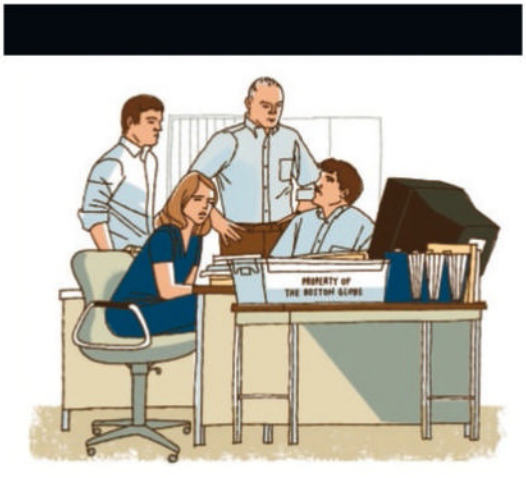
illegitimate son of Balboa's most sensational opponent. Sylvester Stallone returns in the role he made famous, only now he's older, doughier, more battered—and even more touching.

9 THE MAN FROM U.N.C.L.E.

Guy Ritchie's riff on the Cold War–era TV show is an old-school pleasure, the kind of light spy caper that's as rare these days as a pristine vintage Courrèges mini-dress. In this three-way flirtfest, a trio of extraordinary-looking spy types—played by Alicia Vikander, Henry Cavill and Armie Hammer—revel in one another's style and charisma. Once we've lost our taste for beautiful people, the movies really are finished.

10 EX MACHINA

In Alex Garland's brainy, agile sci-fi nightmare/reverie *Ex Machina,* it's man, not God, who created woman. Alicia Vikander is radiant as Ava, the artificial-intelligence being who turns nerdy Domhnall Gleeson into a goner. In his review, my friend and colleague the late Richard Corliss wrote, "Vikander lends Ava a grace and precision of movement that could be human or mechanical, earthly or ethereal." And then, in his quietly spectacular way, he nailed the essence of her character in a single pirouette of a phrase: "a spectral eminence yearning to be a woman." *That* is how you capture the everyday beauty of movies, a pleasure both ephemeral and everlasting.



HOT SCOOP Michael Keaton's portrayal of *Spotlight*'s real-life journalist Walter Robinson is so accurate that Robinson wrote, "My persona has been hijacked."

The 10 Best Performances

1 BLYTHE DANNER
I'll See You in My Dreams

(See page 158)

2 ENSEMBLE
Spotlight

How, really, do you play a journalist or, worse yet, an editor? It's one thing to portray a reporter meeting with sources or working the phones. It's far more difficult to dramatize the act of processing complex tangles of information—especially when the details are as horrific as those of the Catholic Church sex-abuse scandal at the heart of *Spotlight*. Yet, almost miraculously, the ensemble of actors here—including Liev Schreiber, Michael Keaton, John Slattery, Mark Ruffalo, Rachel McAdams and Brian d'Arcy James—excels at capturing the complex interior dynamics of professional news gatherers. These are people held together by anxiety, determination and maybe a little caffeine to counteract all the sleepless nights—whatever it takes to get the story. The cast of *Spotlight* brings them to life by honoring the age-old journalistic rule of showing, not telling.

3 JOSEPH GORDON-LEVITT
The Walk

(See page 154)

4 NINA HOSS
Phoenix

Hoss, one of Germany's—and the world's—finest actors, is haunting as a concentration-camp survivor, her appearance dramatically altered by plastic surgery, who strives to reclaim the man she loves. Wholly undeserving, he sees only what he wants to see, but we catch everything he's missing. Hoss's face itself is a radiant noir mystery.

5 PAUL DANO
Love & Mercy

What does the world sound like when you're a musical genius? And is that a world where we'd really want to live? Dano's nuanced portrayal of troubled Beach Boy Brian Wilson burrows right in—we feel the vibration of every glorious, tremulous, anguished note. His performance is a reminder that some of the sunniest music the world has ever known came at a cost.

6 ELIZABETH BANKS
Love & Mercy

As Melinda Ledbetter, the auto saleswoman who helped save Brian Wilson from the clutches of crooked shrink Eugene Landy, Banks is the ultimate sympathetic presence, wholly open to the world around her and to the man who desperately needs her. Her ears are as good as Wilson's, only in a different way. She proves that *listening* is an action verb.

7 SAM ELLIOTT
I'll See You in My Dreams and *Grandma*

In one of these movies, Elliott plays a dazzling silver-fox boyfriend, up for whatever adventures life has to offer. In the other, he's an ex, betrayed by a lover long ago—his bitterness is so entrenched it seems to have taken up residence in the set of

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Movies

BEST PERFORMANCES
Blythe Danner

There are performers who take command of the space around them; others simply open it up with light and warmth. Blythe Danner has always been the latter kind of actor, and in *I'll See You in My Dreams*, as a widow who learns that love isn't through with her yet, she's so breezily in tune with co-stars Martin Starr and Sam Elliott that she makes it all look easy. This is a gossamer foxtrot of a performance.

his jaw. Elliott brings shimmering gravity to both of these supporting performances—they're the year's most resplendent twofer.

8

JUNO TEMPLE
Black Mass

Scott Cooper's true-crime Whitey Bulger drama was pretty much DOA except for the vibrant Temple. As a chattery, winsome prostitute who meets a horrific end, she brings luminous warmth to this cold marble slab of a picture.

9

LILY TOMLIN
Grandma

The late Robert Altman always gave Tomlin room to shine. With *Grandma*, Paul Weitz picked up the torch by writing a strong role specially for her. As a cranky septuagenarian in charge of helping her granddaughter get an abortion, Tomlin gives a prickly-tender performance that's less about aging than about the great and terrible process of getting to know yourself.

10

CHIWETEL EJIOFOR
Z for Zachariah

In this adaptation of Robert C. O'Brien's apocalyptic YA thriller, the always stellar Ejiofor—playing one of the last men on earth—gives a thorny, unsettling performance that spans the extremes of male tenderness and aggression.

The 10 Worst Movies

1

FANTASTIC FOUR

Superhero films seemed unstoppable—until this chunk of kryptonite arrived.

2

ALOHA

What's more offensive than Emma Stone's half-Asian character? The rest of the film.

3

JUPITER ASCENDING

The Wachowski siblings flew too close to the sun with a bizarro, overstuffed sci-fi epic.

4

THE AGE OF ADALINE

Blake Lively's return to the screen was understated—and underwhelming.

5

STONEWALL

This take on the flash point of the gay-rights movement was all flash and no point.

6

VACATION

Moviegoers wisely took a staycation and watched the 1983 original at home.

7

HOT PURSUIT

Sofia Vergara + Reese Witherspoon = surprisingly awful update of *Midnight Run*.

8

A WALK IN THE WOODS

Robert Redford's end-of-life journey into the wild failed to make it back alive.

9

BURNT

As a chef seeking redemption, Bradley Cooper served up an undercooked meal.

10

MINIONS

In their own spin-off, the sweet yellow sidekicks of *Despicable Me* turned out to be bitter little pills.

—TIME staff

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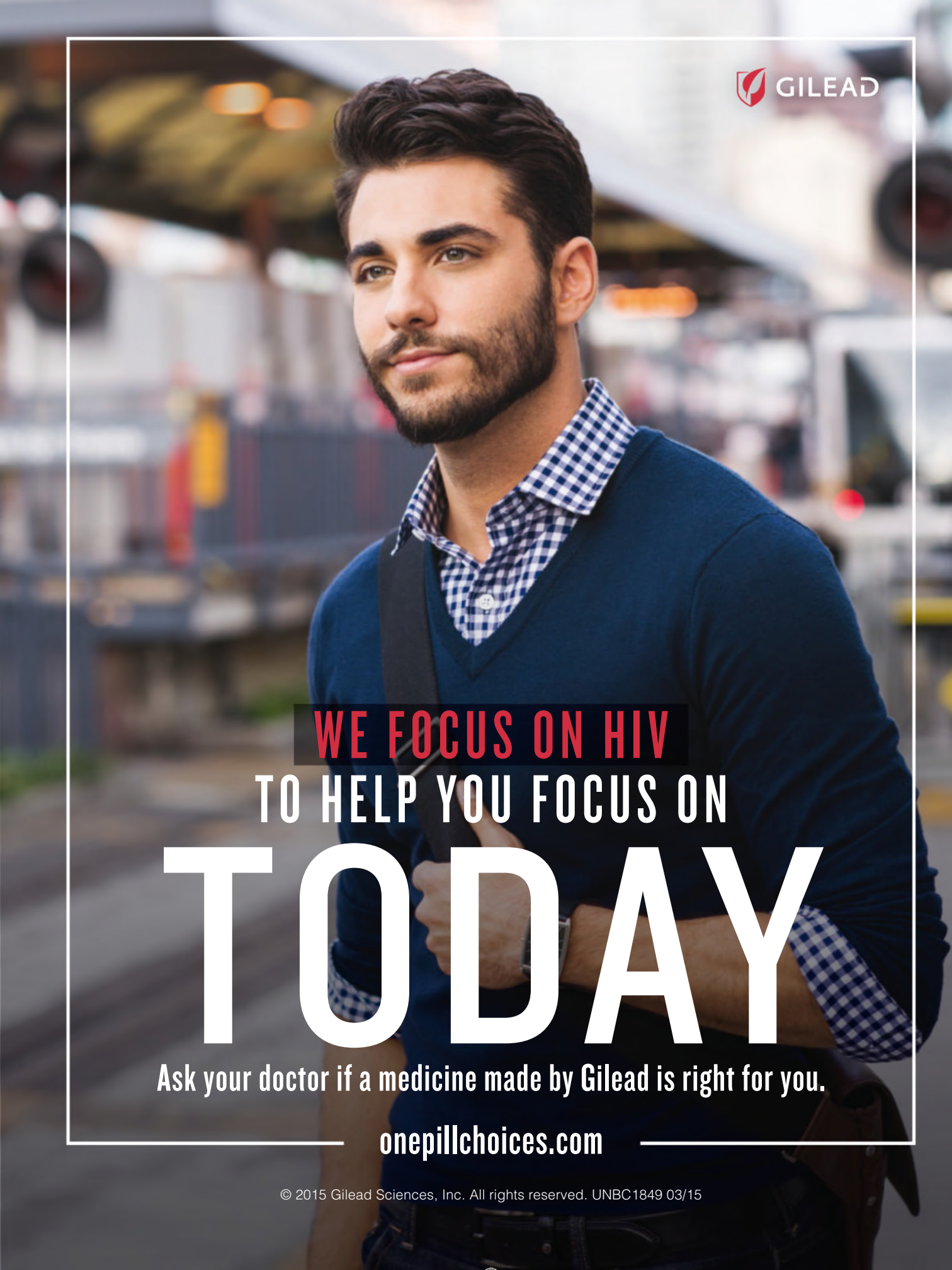
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Television

BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

The 10 Best Shows

1 VEEP
HBO

In her fourth season, VP turned President Selina Meyer (Julia Louis-Dreyfus) was both a fumbling female Richard Nixon and humanizing proof that any of us could become Nixon, given the right set of allies and adversaries. *Veep* isn't just the best show out there; as the presidential race blossoms into reality-TV-inflected absurdity, it's the most relevant.

2 MAD MEN
AMC

There wasn't much story in *Mad Men*'s final episodes—the pointlessness of Don's vision quest was kind of the point. But the last looks at each character provided some tragedy (particularly in January Jones' performance) and a lot of the unglamorous joy that comes from simply continuing on in a life's work. The characters go on, even when we're no longer watching.

3 INSIDE AMY SCHUMER
Comedy Central

Amy Schumer is doing the most explicitly political comedy on TV; the crazy part is that it's funny. In the third season of her sketch series, she put across sharp ideas about what it means to be a woman—in relationships, at work, in Hollywood—without ever preaching to her audience.

4 FARGO
FX

The second season of this anthology series, set in 1979, depicts candidate Ronald Reagan promising to cure a nameless malaise. Good luck to him: here, corruption has taken root at more or less every level of society. No show does a better job of demonstrating how average people (like Jesse Plemons and Kirsten Dunst as naive young marrieds) get sucked into madness.

5 MR. ROBOT
USA Network

(See page 162)

6 MASTER OF NONE
Netflix

Star and co-creator Aziz Ansari wears his heart on his sleeve in this new series about contemporary dating. For all its sharp commentary about life as a child of immigrants (as Ansari himself is), *Master of None* is fundamentally an achingly earnest romantic comedy anchored by a lead performance that's among the most winning in memory.

7 I AM CAIT
E!

Caitlyn Jenner's gender transition was almost entirely mediated through TV (from Diane Sawyer to *Keeping Up With the Kardashians* to the ESPY Awards). But her reality show was something else entirely. The series depicts Jenner repeatedly coming face to face with her own deficiencies as a parent and an activist. It was jarring in the best way: an antivanity project.

8 THE LEFTOVERS
HBO

In its second season, this drama about life after a Rapture-like event pivoted from unwatchably grim to sad and searching. The action has moved to a Texas town where no one departed; goat sacrifices are unremarkable, but humanity is as strange as ever. The central story here is the sort of enigma that makes life painful—and ecstatic too.

9 EMPIRE
Fox

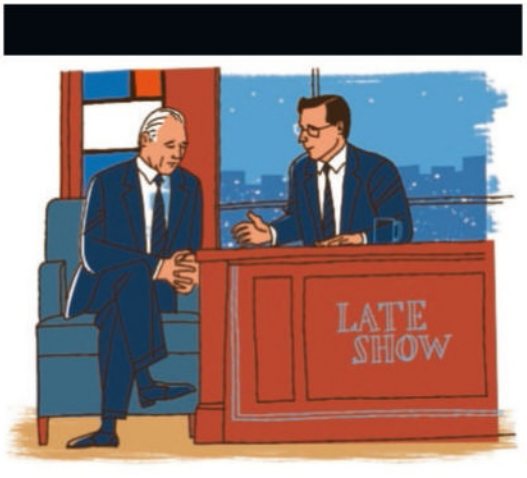
(See right)

BEST SHOWS
Empire

The spectacle on this smash-hit soap opera—chiefly the fierce and deeply controlled performance of Taraji P. Henson *(right)*—is better executed than anything this side of the Super Bowl. But the show's Shakespearean notions of filial loyalty and competition add emotion and insight to the shock value.

10 ODD MOM OUT
Bravo

This satire of life among Manhattan moms placed its target, usually, on its own protagonist's idea of herself as better than her fellow socialites. An underheralded gem on a network known for reality shows, it's the smartest bit of anthropology on TV.



BIDEN MEETS COLBERT Months after his son's death, the VP described grief to a host who'd until then been better known for japery than empathy *(see page 162)*

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PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK MADIGAN HECK FOR TIME

Television

The 5 Best Episodes

1 THE LATE SHOW WITH STEPHEN COLBERT
Interview With Joe Biden

In his third episode doing late-night talk as himself, Colbert defined his new role with a sympathetic but not partisan interview with the Vice President. Politics watchers expected Biden to announce a presidential run; they were surprised when host and guest bonded over shared grief and in so doing pushed the boundaries of what's possible in late night.

2 THE LAST MAN ON EARTH
"Alive in Tucson"

The most inventive show on TV, *The Last Man on Earth* has countless times torn down central parts of its premise in service of something more fun. The exhilarating pilot episode establishes Phil (Will Forte) as a lonely apocalypse survivor before giddily tossing away the concept with the introduction of a new companion (the delightful Kristen Schaal).

3 SCANDAL
"Dog-Whistle Politics"

After a too-fantastical season, *Scandal* redoubled its focus on real-world provocation. Olivia (Kerry Washington) invited controversy by going public as the nation's First Girlfriend. Little on TV in 2015 was as galvanizing as this episode's look at the coded ways in which powerful black women (like Olivia or show creator Shonda Rhimes) are discussed.

4 PROJECT GREENLIGHT
"The Pivot"

The reboot of this reality standard depicted the year's most emotionally and politically charged relationship, between a headstrong (white, male) director and an empathic (black, female) producer, working together on a toxic film set. The tensions came to a head in this episode, providing both real insight into who has power in Hollywood and the least contrived look in recent memory at a stressful work relationship.

5 HOUSE OF CARDS
"Chapter 39"

Episodes of *House of Cards* tend to blend together into one long binge. Not so the Season 3 finale, which stood out for finally making viewers care about a seemingly pointless subplot—the fate of poor Rachel—and for clarifying what, exactly, the show had been about all along. Claire's decision to walk out on Frank transformed the show's meanderings into a path to a grimly satisfying plot twist.

BEST SHOWS
Mr. Robot

This new drama, about hackers taking on predatory corporate culture, gave us TV's most sophisticated look yet at the deep web. Delivering the best male performance of the year, Rami Malek *(left)* stars as a disaffected pirate who already knows he lives in a postapocalyptic world. We're forced to catch up.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK MADIGAN HECK FOR TIME

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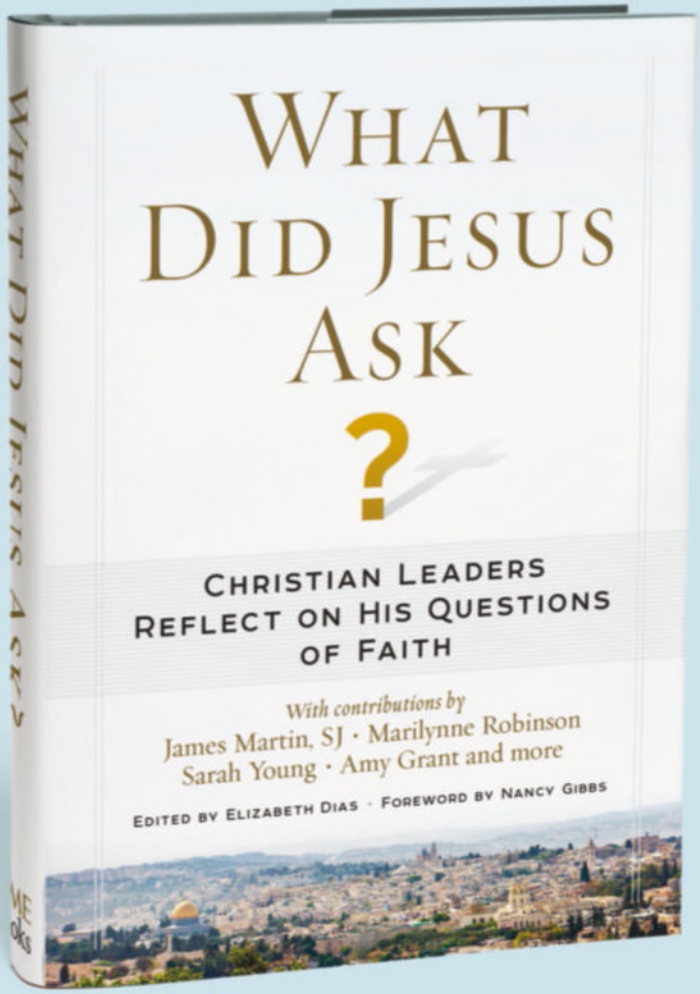
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Christian Leaders Reflect on His Questions of Faith
With contributions by
James Martin, SJ · Marilynne Robinson
Sarah Young · Amy Grant and more
Edited by Elizabeth Dias · Foreword by Nancy Gibbs

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Books

The 10 Best Fiction Books

BEST FICTION BOOKS
Seveneves

'The moon blew up without warning and for no apparent reason.' So begins *Seveneves*, by Neal Stephenson *(right)*, a novel cum thought experiment conducted on a massive scale in both space and time.

1 THE STORY OF THE LOST CHILD
Elena Ferrante

Ferrante's wrenching novel, the final volume of her Neapolitan quartet, plays out against a backdrop of political tumult and social upheaval but sticks brilliantly to its focus: the bond between two women, Lila and Elena, whose ambition and charisma at times unite them and at times bitterly divide them.

2 A GOD IN RUINS
Kate Atkinson

This companion volume to the 2013 novel *Life After Life* concerns Teddy, an RAF pilot whose traumatic combat is the engine of this book. His life is otherwise almost comically uneventful, but Atkinson finds in it fathomless depths of human experience and pathos.

3 FATES AND FURIES
Lauren Groff

Groff's he said/she said account of the marriage of golden couple Lotto and Mathilde simultaneously explodes and reinforces the notion of soul mates; their story is a searing exploration of how far a person will go for love, loyalty and revenge.

4 GET IN TROUBLE
Kelly Link

Link's slow but perfect stories tend to be about teenage girls on the tipping point: from childhood into adulthood but also from a mundane world into somewhere far stranger and more magical.

5 WELCOME TO BRAGGSVILLE
T. Geronimo Johnson

Where is more weirdness likely to transpire: Berkeley, Calif., or Braggsville, Ga.? The latter, of course, especially if you're coming from Berkeley, like Johnson's band of college kids in this sharp, comic and welcome new Southern novel.

6 THE MEURSAULT INVESTIGATION
Kamel Daoud

Daoud's novel picks up half a century after Albert Camus's *The Stranger* with the story of the grieving brother of Camus's unnamed, gunned-down Arab. It succeeds through its emotion, its lyricism and, tragically, its timeliness.

7 SEVENEVES
Neal Stephenson

(See above)

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Books

8 UNDERMAJORDOMO MINOR
Patrick deWitt

In *Undermajordomo Minor*—possibly the greatest Wes Anderson movie never made—our hero is the callow but strangely appealing Lucien Minor, who takes the position of undermajordomo at the vast Castle von Aux. There, amid a pageant of oddity, he transforms.

9 THE MARK AND THE VOID
Paul Murray

The global financial crisis has not inspired much comedy, but Murray finds nihilistic humor in a band of bankers capitalizing on the chaos. His humanist touch turns *The Mark and the Void* into a moving paean to personal relations amid spreadsheets and speculation.

10 THE DUST THAT FALLS FROM DREAMS
Louis de Bernières

This poignant novel follows three families through World War I, providing a view from the trenches, the hospitals and the English countryside. But even better than de Bernières' prismatic coverage of war is his depiction of ensuing peace and his characters' hard-won freedom to start anew.

The 10 Best Nonfiction Books

1 H IS FOR HAWK
Helen Macdonald

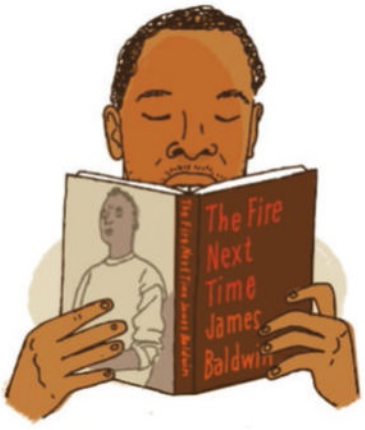
Macdonald, a scholar at Cambridge University, went to pieces after her father died, and in her mourning she purchased a goshawk. Macdonald describes her avian healer in language so breathtaking and immediate, you'd swear one was sitting on your shoulder.

2 BARBARIAN DAYS
William Finnegan

How many ways can you describe a wave? You'll never get tired of Finnegan doing it. A staff writer at the *New Yorker,* he leads a counterlife as an obsessive surfer, traveling the world, throwing his body into waves in search of transient moments of grace.

3 NEGROLAND
Margo Jefferson

Jefferson's upbringing in 1950s Chicago was almost idyllic. But the tensions of the time were inescapable, and with them came personal pressures that sank her into depression. She tells a story of despair and triumph, as compelling for the reader as it seems cathartic for her.



VISIBLE MAN Ta-Nehisi Coates dedicated his National Book Award to Prince Jones, a friend who was killed by a police officer in 2000

4 THE BROTHERS
Masha Gessen

The Tsarnaev brothers created one kind of chaos in bombing the Boston Marathon, but they came from another. Descended from Chechens, their family emigrated to the U.S. in 1994 and settled in Cambridge, Mass., where the young immigrants tried and failed to find a foothold. *The Brothers* doesn't offer easy answers, but it gives context to a grotesque act of violence.

5 BEING NIXON
Evan Thomas

Thomas covers Richard Nixon's painful childhood, his wilderness years and his presidency in a book that is a new and vital entry in the workup on one of history's most psychoanalyzed figures.

6 BLACK MAN IN A WHITE COAT
Damon Tweedy

This clear-eyed memoir doesn't just deal with Tweedy's experience at the intersection of race and medicine—like the time his professor at Duke Medical School mistook him for a janitor—but takes on the backgrounds of his patients too.

7 DESTINY AND POWER
Jon Meacham

George H.W. Bush may appear to be one of the U.S.'s less memorable Presidents, sandwiched between the glamorous Reagan and the charismatic Clinton and overshadowed by his son. But in this telling, Bush's lack of verve is his greatest asset. Through one man's journey, we see America's changing attitudes toward power and duty.

8 THE GIVENNESS OF THINGS
Marilynne Robinson

Readers have long admired how characters in Robinson's novels *(Home, Gilead)* are animated by a faith that is deeply considered yet never overbearing. In her new collection of essays, Robinson lifts the curtain on her own theological thinking while grappling with questions about the state of Christianity in America.

9 BETWEEN THE WORLD AND ME
Ta-Nehisi Coates

In any other year, Coates' letter to his son about being black in America—a nod to Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time*—would have been a compelling piece of commentary. This year, it has been an urgent, essential phenomenon as the nation has struggled with police brutality, racial unrest and manifest inequity.

10 THE WITCHES
Stacy Schiff

Best-selling biographer Schiff (*Cleopatra,* the Pulitzer-winning *Vera*) aims her keen research skills at the Salem witch trials, conjuring an eerily detailed vision of the 17th century.

—TIME staff

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THE BEST SOURCE FOR COINS WORLDWIDE™

Music

The 10 Best Albums

1 MIGUEL
Wildheart

Placing Miguel Pimentel into a box is a fool's errand—his 2012 breakthrough hit "Adorn" might have been an R&B chart topper, but its amalgam of rock, pop, psych and soul made for a heady stew. On this set, Miguel delves into the mythology of Los Angeles and the allure of fame with bold, twisty tracks. Sex is still a big part of the equation, but Miguel's brand of sensuality runs deep, revealing his desire to blend the body and the mind with his style of soul.

2 SLEATER-KINNEY
No Cities to Love

An eight-year hiatus didn't soften the edges of one of the most singular rock bands to emerge from the Pacific Northwest. In fact, the trio only got fiercer. With drummer Janet Weiss anchoring them, Corin Tucker and Carrie Brownstein trade sinewy guitar riffs as tough as shark skin and spit out lyrics that are casual in their devastation. "Only I get to be sickened by me," Brownstein quivers on "Bury Our Friends." But everyone can rejoice in their return.

3 KENDRICK LAMAR
To Pimp a Butterfly

(See right)

4 CARLY RAE JEPSEN
E•MO•TION

(See page 170)

5 GIRL BAND
Holding Hands With Jamie

The notion of the rock foursome—guitar, bass, drums, vocals—gets turned on its ear by this all-male Irish quartet, who approach their individual instruments less as things to play than as puzzles to solve. What results is an ambitious, noisy debut full of surprises, not to mention the occasional guitar part that sounds like a broken washing machine. (In a very good way.)

THE HILLS ARE ALIVE
The Weeknd, born Abel Tesfaye, topped the charts with "The Hills," easily the darkest No. 1 single of the year
(see page 170)

6 KACEY MUSGRAVES
Pageant Material

Musgraves veered from country tradition on her 2013 major-label debut when she criticized small-town life instead of celebrating it. But on this year's follow-up, her sweet, twangy anthems about individuality and minding your own business are poignant reminders that we're all trying to live our best lives, no matter the terms. "Just tryin' to hold it all together/ We all wish our best was better," she sings on "Somebody to Love." Here, her best is hard to beat.

7 COURTNEY BARNETT
Sometimes I Sit and Think, and Sometimes I Just Sit

"Put me on a pedestal and I'll only disappoint you," Barnett claims on her debut album. Yet put her brain under a microscope and the 28-year-old Australian will thrill you. Her clever one-liners and rambling monologues transform the most mundane details of everyday life—sleepless nights, the merits of organic vegetables—into character studies as sharp as her guitar riffs.

8 VIJAY IYER TRIO
Break Stuff

Pianist Vijay Iyer builds on the traditions of jazz while borrowing inspiration from a large chunk of the musical map on his trio's latest exhilarating collection. The 2013 MacArthur Fellow's stylistic range is dazzling without coming off as too self-impressed; he showcases his instrument's percussive power on the manic "Hood," and gracefully dips in and out of his collaborators' parts like a darting bird on "Geese."

9 JAMIE XX
In Colour

This solo LP from a member of British band the xx doesn't thump as hard as the average nightclub playlist, but it's steeped in dance-music history nonetheless. DJ-producer Jamie Smith adds and rearranges samples like Jenga blocks, using pulse-spiking beats and merry-go-round steel drums to pay tribute to the past while still blazing a trail forward.

10 ASHLEY MONROE
The Blade

On her third solo album, Monroe commands the spotlight with a sweet, steadfast voice that recalls Dolly Parton and whip-smart lyrics that quickly reveal she's nobody's fool. Even when she's unlucky in love and money, Monroe's can-do attitude makes *The Blade* a razor-sharp collection of newly minted, instantly classic country.

BEST ALBUMS
To Pimp a Butterfly

On this looser and funkier follow-up to his 2012 breakthrough, Kendrick Lamar *(right)* asks tough questions about what it means to be a black man living in America today. You may not always agree with his conclusions, but it's riveting to witness his process.

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Music

The 10 Best Songs

1 GRIMES
"Flesh Without Blood"

It usually takes a team of hitmakers to craft a pop song this spine-tingling, but Grimes does it all on her own, making this tale of a falling-out over her success even more electrifying.

2 CHRISTINE AND THE QUEENS
"Tilted"

Queerness is a frequent theme of French singer Héloïse Letissier's deceptively titled solo project, yet this outsiders' rallying cry can speak to listeners of all identities.

3 JASON DERULO
"Want to Want Me"

A skipping-stone synth beat, along with Derulo's falsetto, makes "Want to Want Me" the most joy-filled trip to Erotic City in 2015—he even tips his cabdriver well.

4 ADELE
"When We Were Young"

A 27-year-old singing about age anxiety doesn't cry out for audiences' sympathies, but Adele eloquently captures the pain of watching the years slip through your fingers.

5 THE WEEKND
"The Hills"

The song's video finds the R&B star escaping a car crash. How fitting: his sinister melodies make "The Hills," like some wrecks, hard to turn away from.

6 JOHN GRANT FEAT. TRACEY THORN
"Disappointing"

Grant's mannered, almost haughty baritone radiates enough love to inspire a synth-pop fever dream.

7 TAME IMPALA
"Let It Happen"

The psych-rock band offers music's trippiest ride of the year: lava-lamp keyboards evaporate into gaseous soundscapes, while robot voices morph into fuzzy guitar licks.

8 DRAKE
"Hotline Bling"

If drunk-texting your ex after stalking his or her Instagram had a theme song, this bubbly hit would be it.

9 JANELLE MONÁE AND JIDENNA
"Yoga"

Only an artist as left-field as Monáe could make yoga into both a sex metaphor *and* a statement about not letting society police your individuality.

10 YEARS & YEARS
"King"

This U.K. chart topper should have taken off in the U.S.—it's as thrillingly danceable as any '90s house jam, with plenty of heart to match.

—Nolan Feeney and Maura Johnston

BEST ALBUMS
E•MO•TION

At its best, pop music serves up pure feeling, and Carly Rae Jepsen *(left)* is a master of the form. Working with a hypercolor palette and using her delicate yet knowing voice to personalize each track, she has crafted an opus for anyone who's been in love.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK MADIGAN HECK FOR TIME

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Theater

BY RICHARD ZOGLIN

1 KING CHARLES III

Prince Charles ascends the throne at last, and all hell breaks loose. Mike Bartlett's speculative drama has a sharp grasp of politics, the private lives of public figures and the logical absurdity of the British monarchy. One of the great political plays of our time.

2 HAMILTON

(See right)

3 ARTHUR MILLER

Miller's centennial year was marked by two outstanding productions: Ivo van Hove's expressionistic take on *A View From the Bridge* and the Signature Theater's powerful revival of the less celebrated Holocaust play *Incident at Vichy.*

BATTLE ROYAL In the title role of *King Charles III,* Tim Pigott-Smith sparks a political crisis in a brilliant verse drama

4 THE KING AND I

The Tony-winning revival boasts spectacle, heart and beautiful voices, making a good case for the 1951 show as the best Rodgers and Hammerstein classic.

5 THE CHRISTIANS

The minister of a megachurch has a spiritual revelation and prompts a crisis in the congregation. Lucas Hnath's knotty play is a rarity: a serious investigation of the nature of faith.

6 THE VISIT

Kander and Ebb's last collaboration, about a woman who takes revenge on her hometown, was too dark for Broadway—but too good to go unnoticed.

7 CONSTELLATIONS

Nick Payne's one-act charts a love affair in scenes that keep rewinding and replaying in alternate versions. Jake Gyllenhaal and Ruth Wilson made this high-wire act fly.

8 JOHN

A couple's fraying relationship is further tested by the ghosts of an oddball Pennsylvania inn. Annie Baker's 3½-hour play moves at its own pace but is strangely enthralling.

9 FINDING NEVERLAND

Critics had the hook out, but this spirited and nimbly staged musical about J.M. Barrie and the creation of Peter Pan is a delight.

10 WOLF HALL

The adaptation of Hilary Mantel's novels about Henry VIII's court was a model of Royal Shakespeare Company polish and storytelling skill.

Hamilton

Lin-Manuel Miranda's hip-hop musical, recounting Alexander Hamilton's rise from poor immigrant to Founding Father and architect of the U.S. banking system, is now Broadway's favorite's sellout.

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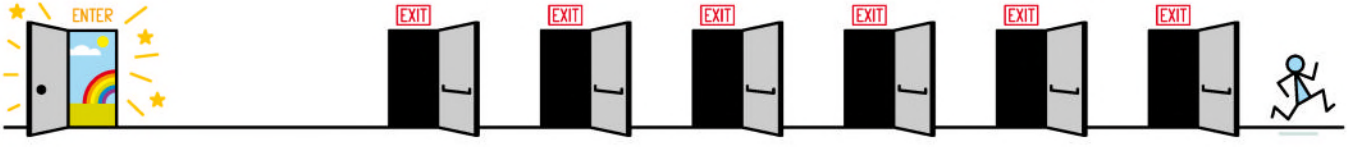
Quit your job, smoke some dope, grow a beard. It was the Year the Adults Gave Up

By Joel Stein

ALL KIDS KNOW THE ONE, IMMUTABLE TRUTH THAT IS THE source of all their power: Adults give up. They're lazy. That's why they still have cable and landlines, and why their kids ultimately get all the ice cream, iPad games and Smosh videos they want. So it's no surprise that after years of enduring all that sexting, app-ing and startup-ing, 2015 was the Year the Adults Gave Up. Even the most responsible workers in journalism, copy editors, just let me capitalize four words for no reason.

Not since the 1970s has a generation walked away from power so willingly, and this time it's far more shocking, since these adults did it sober. You want to flout your city's regulations so your little app thing can usurp your city's taxi and hotel industries? Fine. You say that seeing Woodrow Wilson's face makes you cry? We'll look into removing his mural from Princeton, where he was president. When Caitlyn Jenner made her debut as a transgender woman, adults acted as if they too now understood why the Kardashians were important. So eager were adults to shed their adultiness that HBO bought *Sesame Street,* Google changed its name to Alphabet and Hillary Clinton did both the whip and the nae nae.



THIS WAS THE YEAR when adults turned the damn car around and headed home. The year when they said you can smoke your marijuana, marry that guy you said was just your friend and make nice with the communists in Cuba as well as the Great Satan haters in Iran. The year when Joe Biden gave a good look around at what was going on in the world and said, "Forget this," only in a much more Joe Biden way.

In 2015, David Letterman quit; *Mad Men* went off the air; Robert Durst allowed a documentarian to get him arrested for murder; Brian Williams stepped down in order to spend more time with his fake war buddies; the authorities allowed El Chapo to "escape"; and NFL commissioner Robert Goodell, after suspending Tom Brady, who played anyway, was officially only in charge of apologizing and handing over the laziest-designed trophy in sports. Even Sepp Blatter agreed to step down from FIFA. He didn't actually do it, of course, but it was a huge step for him to pretend he was going to. Zayn Malik left One Direction even though he was considered the most adult member of the band by people writing year-in-review columns who were desperate to make the facts fit their flimsy theories.

China, which just became an economic adult, devalued its currency. Almost no world leader besides Angela Merkel showed any notion of adult hospitality toward Syrian refugees. Pluto, which still has to be pissed about being de-planeted by a bunch of nerds, waved its cold white flag by showing the dorks who run New Horizons a huge heart—or as huge a heart-shaped feature as a dwarf planet can have. And it's filled with frozen poison. But basically, Pluto gave up the fight.

The party of Lincoln and Reagan had a mass exodus of adults, with the remaining one desperately putting an exclamation point after his name—Jeb!—most likely because he confused it with a hashtag. The GOP primary was led by Donald Trump, who is less an adult than one of the kids who don't make it through the Willy Wonka tour. Two generations ago, believe it or not, all candidates were like Bernie Sanders. Now it is difficult to explain to Kanye West why he shouldn't run for President.

After years of having the Tea Party make him cry, John Boehner quit the job of Speaker of the House. Then his successor, Kevin McCarthy, quit the job before he even got it. Paul Ryan agreed to take the job only if they let him grow a cool beard and then post on Instagram about being the first Speaker in 100 years with a beard. He is also the first Speaker ever to beard-brag.

During a year of mass shootings in the U.S., the President dejectedly said, "At some point, we as a country will have to reckon with the fact that this type of mass violence does not happen in other advanced countries … I say that recognizing the politics in this town foreclose a lot of those avenues right now." Which is the equivalent of telling the class that you're going to wait until they settle down to teach, which never, ever works. Especially when the class has guns.

And yet all this adult capitulation wasn't good enough for young people, despite their getting a new *Star Wars.* No, they had to destroy adults' final refuges by publishing the names of Ashley Madison subscribers and folding *SkyMall.*

But even as they just take over, the kids are already getting old. There's no other explanation for why they're listening to Adele. □

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

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The Decider

Who's worthy of the title? Follow your own path to 2015's most notable figure

START HERE

THE PERSON OF THE YEAR SHOULD BRING US …

- PEACE
  - *True or false: As Ronald Reagan said, "Peace is not the absence of conflict, but the ability to cope with conflict by peaceful means."*
    - TRUE
      - THE ENEMY OF MY ENEMY IS …
        - MY FRIEND → CLIMATE NEGOTIATORS
        - MY FRENEMY → *I want to stop …*
          - ISIS AND ABU BAKR AL-BAGHDADI → VLADIMIR PUTIN
          - NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION → XI JINPING
          - NUKES IN IRAN → HASSAN ROUHANI
    - FALSE → WHICH IS MOST ADMIRABLE?
      - DEFUSING AN EXPLOSIVE HOUSE → PAUL RYAN
      - CHALLENGING A SURE THING → BERNIE SANDERS
      - FEELING FREE TO BE YOURSELF → CAITLYN JENNER
      - DEMANDING SOCIAL JUSTICE → #BLACKLIVESMATTER
      - SHARING YOUR VISION WITH THE WORLD → *My favorite movie quote is …*
        - "MAY THE FORCE BE WITH YOU." → J.J. ABRAMS
        - "I'LL HAVE WHAT SHE'S HAVING." → AMY SCHUMER
        - "YOU HAD ME AT HELLO." → ADELE
- PROSPERITY
  - *With great wealth comes great …*
    - RESPONSIBILITY, ESPECIALLY TO THOSE DISPLACED BY WAR → ANGELA MERKEL
    - CONTROVERSY, ESPECIALLY IF YOU CHARGE $100 FOR A RIDE IN THE RAIN → TRAVIS KALANICK
    - GADGETS, LIKE ROCKETS, CARS, BATTERIES AND SOLAR PANELS → ELON MUSK
- JOY
  - *True or false: Good things come in threes.*
    - TRUE → WHICH HEADGEAR IS COOLER?
      - TRIPLE CROWN → AMERICAN PHAROAH
      - HAT TRICK → CARLI LLOYD
    - FALSE—SOMETIMES THREE JUST ISN'T ENOUGH, LIKE FOR SWEEPING A GRAND SLAM → SERENA WILLIAMS
- A LITMUS TEST FOR THE AMERICAN PSYCHE → DONALD TRUMP

BY ISAAC GUZMÁN

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